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THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

VOLUME THE SECOND:

CONTAINING

ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF JOHN OF BRABANT AND HENRY AND THOMAS OF LANCASTER, 1292-3.

HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, 1551-2.

THE REQUEST AND SUITE OF A TRUE-HEARTED ENGLISHMAN, WRITTEN BY WILLIAM CHOLMELEY, 1553.

DISCOVERY OF THE JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL IN MARCH 1627-8.

TRELAWNY PAPERS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM TASWELL, D.D.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.L.III.

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ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES

OF

JOHN OF BRABANT

AND

THOMAS AND HENRY OF LANCASTER,

A.D. 1292-3.

EDITED BY

JOSEPH BURTT, ESQ.

OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.L.III.

INTRODUCTION.

THE marriage of Margaret,* daughter of King Edward the First, with John the son of the Duke of Brabant, to whom the following document relates, was an affair of as grave political consideration to the parents of both the future bride and bridegroom as any matrimonial arrangement of later times. On the part of the King of England the union afforded a prospect of materially strengthening his continental possessions, by a close alliance with one of the most powerful of the great Barons of Germany,—one, whose successful wars with his neighbours had won him the title of "the Victorious;" and on the part of the Duke himself, a family connexion with a sovereign so renowned as King Edward, must have been an object of desire even before so considerable a sum as 50,000*l.* was settled for the bride's portion.

Probably other reasons presented themselves to the contracting parties, as it seems to have been settled that some such alliance should at all events be completed. The agreement,† which was the

* She was born at Windsor, 11th September, 1275. For a most interesting account of the daughters of Edward I. see the "Lives of the Princesses of England" by Mrs. Green. That of the Princess Margaret begins at vol. ii. p. 363. In this work the valuable public records of the period have for the first time been turned to good account for biographical purposes, and the result has been a delightful and veracious work. Several of the following remarks are indebted to its pages; but, the object now being to trace the prince rather than the princess, the original documents which are quoted have been consulted (except in the case of the *Fœdera*), and the extracts are translated from them.

† Fœdera, vol. i. part 2, p. 550. The covenants in the contract for the marriage of John son of the Count of Holland with the Princess Elizabeth were similar. In that

first of the kind entered into by Edward, was not that John of Brabant should marry Margaret, the daughter of King Edward, but that John, or (in case of his death) some other son of the Duke of Brabant, should marry Margaret or (in case of her death) some other daughter of the King of England;—that a son of the one should marry a daughter of the other. This contract was entered into in the year 1278, before the princess was yet three years old. The amount of her portion has been mentioned: her dower was to consist of lands to the yearly value of 3,000*l.*, to be increased to 4,000*l.* after the decease of her father-in-law. But before that event had happened their value was raised to 6,000*l.* yearly rents. By the appointment of procurators in the next year to conclude all the arrangements necessary for the marriage, it is evident that the princess's father anxiously desired the union.

In the year 1284 the bridegroom expectant, accompanied by a considerable suite, paid a visit to the Court of his future father-in-law. His stay was short, but may be supposed to have been mutually satisfactory,† as early in the following year the Duke of Brabant sent his son (then 15 years of age) to reside in England. During the interval that occurred before the performance of the marriage, the young prince was completely installed as a member of the Royal Family of England. He was numerously attended by valets, squires, and servants, and had at his command a stud of from 25 to 35 horses, the number, of course, varying with the journeys to be performed.

case, too, the same determination for an alliance existed, for the Count's daughter had been pledged to the King's eldest son Alfonso, who had died.

* See a letter of the prince to King Edward after this visit. It is given from the Tower Records in Mrs. Green's work, ii. p. 367.

The accounts of the expenses of this retinue were regularly entered among those of the royal establishments; and, were it not for the sadly incomplete state of those documents, there would be little difficulty in following the prince in his wanderings about the country, and, with the additional help of such Rolls as that which follows these remarks, in judging how the greater portion of his time was occupied.

During three years of the time spent by the prince in England, the King was abroad. His absence was owing to the state of his affairs upon the continent, and also to the disputes between the Kings of France and Aragon. Connected as he was with both those sovereigns, it was no easy task to compose their differences upon the Sicilian question; and the betrothal and marriage (by proxy) of Edward's eldest daughter Eleanor to the heir apparent of the crown of Aragon increased the difficulties.* Edward also interested himself in peaceably arranging the disputes of the Duke of Brabant with some of his neighbours, and paid him the whole of the portion of his son's future wife four years before the ceremony took place which gave the Duke a title to it. While the King was absent from England, it is well known that the Judges and other officers grossly abused their trust by their exactions upon the people. During his stay in England, John of Brabant occasionally resided with the King, and sometimes with the Prince of Wales—who, young as he then was, had an establishment distinct from that of the King; but the greater part of the young bridegroom's time was passed at various royal residences scattered over the country at which the Court was not

* This marriage was never completed. The Pope was opposed to it, and Edward was very loth to part with his daughter, upon whom he had at one time settled the crown. See Mrs. Green's Life of this princess.

staying at the time, and where, surrounded by companions of kindred tastes, he indulged in those sports of the field and chivalry in which his father was so famous.

The Royal Wardrobe Account for the year in which the nuptials of John of Brabant and the Princess Margaret were solemnised is fortunately preserved, and from it may be gathered a very minute account of the preparations for the ceremony. The four months preceding the marriage were passed by Prince John in a visit to the King's mother at Ambresbury, in going to a tournament at Winchester, and with hunting parties at Kennington, and at Havering at Bower. His expenses entered upon the Royal Account from the 12th March to 30th July, including money lost at chess, amounted to 271*l.* 11*s.* 6½*d.**

By those who wish to trace the details of the marriage ceremony, Mrs. Green's "Lives of the Princesses of England" should be consulted. It is only necessary here to say that the early professors of all the arts of personal ornament and decoration were busily occupied long before the eventful day. The bride's *trousseau* appears to have been magnificent. The illuminator (not of books, but of the palace,) had four men engaged in making candles. Nineteen minstrels were collected from various counties to do honour to the occasion, and some Gascon knights devised and procured dresses decorated according to the fashion of their own country for some of the dancers.† The ceremony was performed at Westminster on Saturday, the 8th July,

* Wardrobe Account, 18 Edw. I.

† Ibid. The passage is as follows: "Domino Guillielmo Arnoldi militi Vasconiæ familiari Regis existentis, &c. per 19 dies apud London' ad ordinandum et faciendum quoynteysias in quibus ipse et socii sui trippaverunt ad foros Wasconiæ die festi nuptiarum Dominæ Margaretæ, pro expensis suis 54^{s}."

1290, in the presence of the Duke of Brabant himself, with the principal nobles and ladies of his province, and of the whole English Court. The young bridegroom accompanied his father to the English coast on his return homewards, but continued to reside with his bride in England. His taste for athletic pursuits—a taste which the King encouraged by annually presenting him with two falcons *—is amply shewn by the following account. At his age and in those days there can be little doubt that these sports were regarded by him less as the amusements than the business of life. Besides being strongly attached to all kinds of sports, John of Brabant, differing in this respect from his princess, is said to have had little inclination for the ceremonies of religion. After his marriage the Court had to perform a kind of penance then very usual for an act of omission —300 poor men were fed because John of Brabant and Margaret his wife did *not* hear mass. †

The period to which the Roll which is now printed refers is a portion of the years 1292-3. John of Brabant ‡ continued his stay in England till after his accession to the Duchy on the death of his father. That event occurred earlier than in the course of nature it might have been expected, and it is said that one of the Princess Margaret's sisters was its innocent cause. Disappointed of a king for the husband of his eldest daughter Eleanor, Edward married her to Henry Earl of Barr in September, 1293. The Earl was proud of her beauty, and on inducting her to his patrimony in the spring of the following year proclaimed a tournament in her honour.

* Wardrobe Account, 18 Edw. I. † Ibid.

‡ With the exception of this document and a household account of the Prince Edward, it seems that little light can be thrown upon the life of Prince John for that particular time. Before taking up the subject of the document in question, the subsequent history of the Prince has been glanced at.

The Duke of Brabant had seen and admired the Princess Eleanor at her father's court, and the proposed jousts gave new life to the decaying fire of his chivalrous spirit. In the hope of being crowned by her hand, he entered the lists with the strongest and boldest; and died at the Castle of Barr, of wounds received in an encounter with Sir Peter de Baufremont.

Very soon after his father's death John then Duke of Brabant was conveyed home by some merchants of his country, who came with a retinue in three ships for that purpose.

That he was probably a personal favourite of King Edward I. may be inferred from the attentions paid him on his departure, although the King's daughter was made unhappy by the marriage.

Letters of conduct and assistance * were issued on behalf of those who had arrived to escort home the new Duke, and he sailed from Harwich at the end of June, 1294. His Duchess did not accompany him; her position at her father's court had been little altered by her marriage; but she had a separate establishment after her husband's departure. And when, after three years, she joined her husband, Humfrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, whom the following Roll shews to have been a companion of Prince John in England, was sent with others to see that the Duchess was put in possession of the dower granted her by the Duke's father.†

The Duke probably made a short visit to England in the year 1295, as there is in the Chapter House a receipt, to which is appended his seal, much broken, for the sum of 4000*l.*, which the King of England had granted to him out of the customs on wools from the

* Fœd. part II. p. 802.

† Ibid. p. 854. For extracts from Ward. Acc. 25 Edw. I. shewing the splendid equipment the Princess had on leaving England, see Mrs. Green's work, pp. 382-386.

merchants of his country. It is dated at Westminster, on the Feast of Saint Thomas the Apostle (December 21), 1295.

It is certain that the Duke fell into profligate courses in his own country. Margaret's married life was not to be envied, but her position was doubtless improved after the birth of an heir to the Duchy, in the year 1300. Great rejoicings are said to have taken place in consequence. A valet who was sent by the Duchess to announce the good news to the members of her family had the handsome present of 190 marks; of which 100 were given by the King, 50 by the Queen, and 40 by Prince Edward.* Duke John II. was not of a warlike disposition; but he reigned vigorously, and acquired the surname of "the Peaceful,"—no easy achievement. The Duke and Duchess were present at the marriage of the Duchess's brother, then King Edward II., to Isabella of France, in 1307. The Duke died 27th October, 1312; the Duchess survived him six years. Their only issue was one son, who must have trod in the steps of his grandfather rather than his father, as his title was "the Triumphant." He was the last Duke of Brabant; his eldest daughter bequeathing the duchy to Anthony son of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

Little is known of the early history of Thomas and Henry the sons of Edmund, younger brother of King Edward I., and first Earl of Lancaster, by his second wife Blanche daughter of Robert Earl of Artois and widow of Henry Earl of Champagne and Brie. They appear to have been the constant companions of John of Brabant during the period to which the following account relates, and, doubtless, participated in all his amusements. Both were con-

* The original receipt of the squire, Cornelius de Gysingham by name, is in the Chapter House.

siderably his juniors. Thomas had been contracted in marriage to Beatrice daughter of the Duke of Burgundy; but he married Alice daughter of Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln. He was the popular leader against the favourites of Edward II., and, on the defeat of his party, suffered an ignominious death at Pontefract, in 1322. But his memory was deeply venerated by the clergy and people, and Edward III. exerted himself to obtain admission for the name of *Saint* Thomas of Lancaster, by which he was called, into the duly canonized lists; but in vain. His brother Henry, the same who is mentioned in the following pages, succeeded to the vast estates and dignity of the earldom, on the reversal of his brother's attainder.

The document which is now to be introduced to notice is the account of what may be called the Privy Purse Expenses of John of Brabant from the 8th November, 1292, to the latter part of May, 1293.* From the 13th April, Thomas and Henry the two sons of Edmund, brother of King Edward, were with him, and from that date a portion of the account relates entirely to outlays for them, but they are almost wholly for small articles of apparel. The Roll affords many valuable illustrations of domestic manners and of the personal character of the Prince; and it is also the only one of the kind at present known to exist. The account was written by one of his Flemish attendants, Richard de Loutherbourg, and the Prince is referred to throughout by the familiar name of "John."

When the account commenced, the Prince was at Berwick, and 7*d.* was paid for securing his chamber in the Castle against the rain. One of his chaplains was left sick for twenty-one days till

* The Roll consists of four membranes, two of which (the second and fourth) are very small and are written in the ordinary hand of the period; membranes one and three are written in a decidedly foreign character.

"John" had returned to "the ladies," viz. the English Princesses at Roxburgh. It is not known whether the Princess Margaret was there; and indeed, it may be remarked as somewhat curious that there is not a single entry in the account in any way relating to the Prince's wife. Between Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Berwick, the time was spent till after Christmas, for which festival "John's" clothes were made at Newcastle with silken thread by Henry his tailor. Two shillings were also lost at chess, and a dozen gloves bought. On the 30th December, the Scottish border was left for a tournament at Warwick. At this period a *hiatus* * appears to exist in the account, the next entry referring to the 1st of March, when John was with the King at Grendon (Bucks). But from the Household Account of Prince Edward we learn that on Thursday, the 12th February, "John of Brabant and the two sons of Lord Edmund came from the tournament at Dunstable with a great company; and on the Sunday following, the Lord John, after breakfast, departed towards Cambridge." On Sunday the 22nd, he returned, and left on the Tuesday following. Prince Edward was then at Langley.

He quitted Grendon to attend a tournament at Northampton (?), at the latter part of March, where two of his horses were much wounded and laid up for 20 days, costing him for attendance and articles for their cure, 15*s*. Another tournament being proclaimed at Royston in April, "John's" destriers or chargers were sent for from Dunstable. Thence he appears to have gone to Soham, near Cambridge, the ancient nursery of horse-racing, where 12*d*. were

* This *hiatus* occurs in the middle of a membrane; previous to the entry relating to 1st March. There is no gap or sign of incompleteness, the only thing to be remarked is that the ink is darker coloured.

lost at bowls. He then went to Grendon, where another tournament occurred in the same month. On the 23rd April, "John" left Grendon to visit the King in London, returning to Dunstable on the 26th; so his stay must have been short, and no time lost in the journey. On the 3rd May, a visit was again paid to the King in London, and thence several visits were made to Prince Edward and the King's daughters at Mortlake. On the 7th, according to the Prince's Household Account, he dined there. On some of these occasions several sums from 4*d.* to 3*s.* were expended by his attendants for sports upon the Thames. By another portion of the account, which was obviously made up by different officers, it seems that in the middle and at the latter part of April he, or some of the household, were at Cheshunt and other places in Hertfordshire, in London, and at Dunstable. It would appear from some of the entries, that there was a tournament at the latter place, but it probably did not occur during the time comprised in the Roll. At Merston (Bucks), during the latter part of April, 6*d.* were lost at bowls. A portion of the account includes the gross household expenses for a part of the month of April, showing that an establishment was then maintained separate from the court.

Before the miscellaneous items of interest are referred to, the few traces of John of Brabant which are supplied by the Household Account of Prince Edward for this year may be noticed. On the 17th June, the Prince being at Kennington, the keeper of his household records that, "There came to dinner John of Brabant, with 30 horses and 24 valets at wages, and the two sons of the Lord Edmund, with 30 horses and 21 valets, and they stay at our expences in all things, in hay, oats, and wages." It is evident they were not welcome to the Prince's officers; the laconic entry of "morantur" daily

records their stay for four days, when the relief their departure afforded appears by the somewhat lachrymose entry, "Adhuc morantur, et est ista dies onerosa"—because the guests, accompanied by some foreigners, were on their way to the jousts at Fulham, and a sumptuous entertainment was to be provided for them at Kingston. And by an entry on the 18th August, it appears that John of Brabant, Thomas and Henry, the King's hunters, and many foreigners, went to hunt in company with Prince Edward in Ashby Forest, and stayed with the Prince three or four days.

In the numerous entries illustrative of the athletic sports of the period the chief interest of the following Roll will be found. Not a week passes but some article is bought, or some preparation made for indulging in them. At Jedburgh, 12*d.* were lost in a shooting match, a "balista" repaired and bolts bought for it; at Berwick, the Prince's helmet and sword were furbished and fastenings bought for the armory; Stephen the falconer was sent to London for a falcon, the journey occupying 41 days. The state of the roads and mode of travelling is shown by a payment of 6*s.* for a cart and four horses for six days, travelling two days and resting four; sometimes, however, they travelled three days in a week and rested three.

When at Royston, the steward of the household wrote to the Sheriff of Norfolk about one of the Prince's lost falcons.* There are many entries relating to arms and armour purchased at London; among them may be remarked, half a deer's skin for helmet crests, and silver rings, and thongs for the basinets.† One of the Prince's falcons being lost, 36*s.* were paid to redeem it from a man who bought it from the one who found it. An account furnished by Raymond de Bourdeaux relates to the purchase of gilt spurs and other articles,

* P. 5. † P. 8.

and especially of saddles decorated with the arms of Guy Ferre, of Geoffrey de Brabant the Prince's brother, of Lord Edmund the King's brother, and other nobles.* When at Barnwell (Cambridge), on their way to a tournament, the Prince, accompanied by Thomas, inspected the royal stables, and gave 2*s.* to the keepers of the King's "destriers." † There are also several entries relating to horses that were hurt or required particular attendance, and ordinary expenses for arms, horse-gear, and falcons, are constantly noted.

Among the traits of personal character presented by this document may be instanced the following:—

At the tournament at Grendon the King's daughters made a gift in the Prince's presence to a poor minstrel towards buying him a gown or robe, and thereupon the prince gave him 3*s.*‡

Among the expenses in London is a payment of 2*s.* 6½*d.* "for bread, wine, and other things for a certain small dinner not ordered beforehand for the Abbot of Jumieges and Sir Daniel, who, passing over before John's house when going to the King's Court, were drawn into the said John's house."§ There are several entries of gifts to poor persons "propter Deum:" these are sometimes to pages who had fallen sick. In two cases a poor idiot man and woman are similarly relieved; ‖ and 22*d.* were given to poor minstrels on frequent occasions.

The first name upon the Roll in connexion with John of Brabant is that of Humfrey de Bohun (spelt "Anfridus de Boum"). Whether he was the third Earl of Hereford of this noble family, or his son, there is nothing to shew. He and John of Brabant were together for some weeks. A John de Diuz or Duz and his brother Theobald seem also to have visited and stayed with John of Brabant,

* P. 8. † P. 10. ‡ P. 6. § P. 8. ‖ P. 10.

as there is an account of expenses for Theobald's lying ill at Northampton.*

There are three notices of horses presented to individuals, obviously foreigners: to Golard de Moy a trotting-horse ("runcinus") was given in the fields at Dunstable, costing 40*s.*;† and two horses were also bought and given there to John de Barr (brother of Henry Earl of Barr, then courting the princess Eleanor), and to Sir Golard Dermoises, by Thomas and Henry, at a cost of 60*s.*‡ The two "Golards" were doubtless but one person. Geoffrey de Langley appears as a companion of Thomas and Henry.§ He was a knight holding lands in the counties of Warwick, Gloucester, and Oxford. The most important public business upon which he seems to have been engaged is that which is shewn by the evidence of a most interesting document lately discovered in the Chapter House.‖ At some period, not, it is presumed, very distant from the date of the Roll of John of Brabant, he was sent as Ambassador from Edward I. to the Moghul Sovereign, for the purpose of forming an alliance against the Sultan of Babylon.

The following Roll is printed from the original in the Chapter House, Westminster, which now represents the office of the Treasurer of the Receipt of the Exchequer. Into the custody of that ancient department the treaties and other diplomatic documents, together with the Accounts of the Expenditure of the Court and Sovereign, were regularly consigned; and the originals of the instruments printed in the "Fœdera" relating to the transactions with the Duke of Brabant are still there. An entry in one of the ancient calendars of the office shews that they were, at the time of

* P. 8. † P. 11. ‡ P. 15. § P. 15.

‖ See the Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. 29 (March, 1851), pp. 44-51.

deposit, placed in a "leathern forcer bound with iron," distinguished by the "sign" of a banner displaying the Brabant lion.*

The Members of the Camden Society are aware that a different name from that with which these remarks are signed was to have appeared to this Introduction. The Roll of John of Brabant was brought by me to the notice of the late Mr. T. H. Turner some few years ago, from a feeling, which I entertained in common with many others, that, standing as he did in the foremost rank of those who have made deep researches into mediæval history and customs, he was best able to illustrate such a document. To him indeed we looked in the hope of obtaining a far more valuable, copious, and trustworthy picture of the condition of England during the middle ages than has ever yet been presented. That such an opinion was well founded, his various essays, and more especially his "Account of Domestic Architecture," amply shew. Some few extracts from the Roll, prefaced by introductory remarks, were read by him at the monthly meeting of the Archæological Institute on 3rd March, 1848. I have, however, been obliged to differ from some of those remarks, which I feel sure he would have repudiated upon mature consideration. Nothing but a wish to complete, as far as lies in my power, the understanding my deceased friend had entered into with the Council of the Camden Society, would have induced me to attempt a task which he intended to execute.

JOSEPH BURTT.

Chapter House, Westminster,
December, 1852.

* "Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer," i. p. 141.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES

OF

JOHN OF BRABANT,

AND

THOMAS AND HENRY OF LANCASTER,

A.D. 1292-3.

Anno xx^mo.

Pro oblationibus Johannis de Brabantia et Anfridi de Boum usque ad diem Sabbati xv^mum diem Novembris, ultimum diem anni regni Regis Edwardi xx^mi, per vij. dies, die beati Martyni interim cadente, ix d. Pro gallinis ad falcones per dictum tempus, xiiij d. Lotrici, viij d. . . . . Summa, ij s. j d.

Anno xxj^mo.

Pro oblationibus Johannis de Brabantia et Anfridi de Boum usque ad diem Sabbati, xxij. diem Novembris, per vij. dies, viij d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xiiij d. Pro retibus emptis Berewik mandato Johannis per Gilkinum armatorem suum, xxj. den'. Pro camera Johannis in castro Berwik obruenda propter pluviam, vij d. Pro expensis Capellani Johannis jacentis Berewik' propter infirmitatem per xxj. dies post recessum Johannis a dicto loco versus Rokeborch' ad dominas, ix s. viij d. Pauperi garcioni apud Gedewourde eunti in Brabantiam propter Deum, vj. den'. Lotrici, xiiij d. Pro pila grossa, vj. den'.

Summa, xvj s.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati, xxix. diem Novembris, per vij. dies, ix d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xiiij d. Lotrici, xiiij d. Pro cariagio die Jovis interim veniendo de Gedewourde ad Regem apud Rokeburch, iij s. Pro litera in camera, xviij d. Johanni apud Gedewourde pro sagitando per Petrum de Maubu, xij. den. Pro galea et ense forbiendis apud Berewik' per Gilkinum armatorem, cum serrura et loketto ad cameram ibidem armaturarum Johannis et suorum, xv d. Pro hackeneio ferente tunicam nocturnam et res alias Johannis de Berewik' usque Gedewourde, ix d. Pro expensis Egidii de Wyvenghem missi pro negociis Johannis de Gedewourde apud Berewik' jacendo per duas noctes, xxj d. Wilcoc parvo pagio Johannis ad calceos apud Gedewourde, vj d. Summa, xij s. x d.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati, vj. diem Decembris, die beati Nicholai interim cadente, x. den'. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xiiij d. Pro busca per dictum tempus, iiij s. ix d. ob. Pro balista reficienda apud Gedewourde et pro materellis per Walteleitum de Ligne, x d. ob. Penant ter misso de Gedewourde apud Berewik, Rege jacente ibidem, xij d. Pro sellis et sommis reficiendis apud Gedewourde et apud Rokeburch per Lovekinum marescallum, v s. ij d. Pro parcameno empto Berewik', xij d. Lotrici, xiiij d. Summa, xvj s.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati, xiij. diem Decembris, per vij. dies, viij d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xiiij d. Pro busca, vj s. vij d. Pro litera in camera, iiij s. ij d. Lotrici, xiiij d. Item, pro ocreis Johannis apud Rokeborch', iij s. j d. Wilcoc pagio Johannis apud Forde ad calceos, vj d. Tribus pagiis jacentibus cum equis Johannis apud Tougale per xxx. dies, Rege Berewik' et Rokeborch' existente, vij s. vj d. per Stonere. Pro candelis emptis ibidem ad equos per eundem et per Colinum custodem dextrariorum, xij d. ob.
Summa, xxv s. xj d. ob.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati xx^{mum} diem Decembris, per vij. dies, x d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xiiij d. Pro busca

ad dictum tempus, vij s. v d. Pro litera in camera, viij s. vj d. Lotrici, xiiij d. Pro asse ad carettam apud Tougale per Lovekinum marescalcum, xij d. Pro vadiis Stephani falconarii Johannis missi de Berewik' apud London' propter falconem Johannis, a die Martis quarta die Novembris computata usque ad diem Lune xv^mum^ diem Decembris non computatum, per xlj. dies, vij d. et ob. sibi pro die quolibet computatis, xxv s. vij d. ob. Pro potura ejusdem falconis quem tenuit penes eum per xxviij. dies antequam rediret in curiam, xxviij d. Pro expensis Robin sommarii Johannis qui jacuerat Langelee propter infirmitatem de Langlee usque Lecestre, per v. dies, per dictum Stephanum, cum ferrura dicti sommarii, ij s. Pro expensis Capellani Johannis, Bosardi, Egidii clerici, jacentium Berewik', per iiij^or^ dies, pro computationibus et negociis ad garderobam, et pro expensis eorum una nocte Rokeborch' recedentium expediti ad Johannem apud Gedewourde, xiij s. x d. . . Summa, lxiij s. x d. ob.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati xxvij. diem Decembris, per vij. dies, die Nativitatis Domini, diebus beati Thome Apostoli, beati Stephani, et beati Johannis interim cadentibus, ij s. j d. Pro gallinis ad falcones per dictum tempus, xxj d. Pro busca per dictum tempus Berewik' per v. dies, et alias, viij s. iiij d. Pro litera in camera, vij s. ij d. Lotrici, xiiij d. Pro vestibus Johannis natalitiis faciendis apud Novum Castrum cum cerico et filo per Henricum cissorem Johannis, iij s. Johanni pro ludo ad punctum scaccarii in festis natalitiis ibidem, ij s. Pro xij^na^ cirotecarum die Natali ibidem, xxiij d. Pro oblationibus famulorum domus Johannis die Natali, iiij s. vj d. Pro expensis unius grisei sommarii Johannis qui jacuerat Langlee propter infirmitatem per vj. ebdomadas et quinque dies, in domo Waithe ibidem, xxj s. iiij d. Item, pro sellis et sommis reficiendis apud Novum Castrum per Lovekinum marescalcum, iij s. iij d. Pro xviij. paribus tixutorum palefridorum ibidem per eundem, ij s. ij d. Pro xij^na^ tixutorum sommariorum ibidem per eundem, xviij d. Pro xij^na^ super-cingularum ibidem per eundem, ij s. Pro ij. capistris ibidem per eundem de corio, xij d. Pro expensis ejusdem missi de

Gedewourde Berewik' ad Thesaurarium circa recessum Regis a dicto loco ad procurandum carriagium pro hospitio Johannis, xviij d.
Summa, lxiiij s. vij d.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Lune xxix. diem Decembris sero per ij. dies, die Martis sequente Johanne versus torniamentum de Warewik' recedente, iij d. Pro gallinis ad falcones per dictos duos dies, vj d. Lotrici per dictum tempus, iiij d. Pro busca per dictum tempus apud Novum Castrum, ij s. . . . Summa, iij s. j d.

Item, pro oblationibus a die Dominica prima die Martii qua Johannes rediit ad Regem apud Gheredon' usque ad diem Sabbati sequentem per vij. dies, ix d. Pro gallinis ad falcones per dictum tempus, xxviij d. Pro cariagio carette ad iiij^{or} equos per vj. dies, per duos laborando, et per iiij. quiescendo, vj s. Pro busca per dictum tempus, iij s. ij d. ob. Pro litera in cameris, ij s. j d. Lotrici pro suis vadiis, xiiij d. . . . . Summa, xv s. vj d. ob.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati xiiij. diem Martii per vij. dies, ix d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, ij s. iiij d. Pro cariagio per iiij. dies laborando, et per tres quiescendo, viij s. iij d. Pro busca per dictum tempus, iij s. viij d. Pro litera in cameris, ij s. xj d. Lotrici, xiiij d. Item, Johanni Cantabr', viij d. quos fecit plicari super capita falconum Regis. . . . . Summa, xix s. ix d.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati, xxj. diem Martii per vij. dies, ix d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, ij s. iiij d. Pro cariagio per quatuor dies laborando, et per tres quiescendo, viij s. iij d. Pro busca per dictum tempus, ij s. vj d. Pro litera in cameris, iij s. ob. Lotrici, xiiij d. Item, Willecoc parvo pagio apud Brochton' ad calceos, vj d. Pro arcubus per Cadde emptis pro Johanne, ij s. j d. Pro ij. pileis emptis pro Johanne per Losard, xxij d. Operariis in domo Johannis Picart forestarii, mandato Johannis, vj d.
Summa, xxij s. xj d. ob.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati, xxviij. diem Martii, xxiij d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xxviij d. Pro cariagio per iiij. dies laborando, et per tres quiescendo, viij s. iij d. Pro busca per dictum tempus, iiij s. iiij d. Pro litera in cameris, iij s. ix d. Lotrici, xiiij d. Item, pauperi pagio Scot nomine moranti propter infirmitatem apud Sanctum Yve, propter Deum, xij d. Pro expensis duorum equorum Johannis morantium propter lesuras apud Norhamton', redeundo de torniamentis, per viginti dies, in feno avena et litera, servicio marescalci, rebus ad curam equorum emptis, et pro expensis garcionis custodientis dictos equos, xv s. . . Summa, xxxvij s. ix d.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati iiij. diem Aprilis, per vij. dies, ix d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xxviij d. Pro cariagio per tres dies laborando, et per tres quiescendo, vj s. ix d. Pro busca per dictum tempus, iij s. x d. ob. Pro litera in cameris, iij s. ij d. Item, lotrici per dictum tempus, xiiij d. Item, pro duobus paribus linearum vestium Johannis et pari linteaminum apud Ely faciendis, per W. de Ligne computato apud Ely, xiij d. Pro peplo et tela ad thenas Johannis faciendas Londoniis per W. barbitorem Johannis, viij s. vj d. Pro oblationibus familie Johannis die Pasche, iiij s.

Summa, xxxj s. vij d. ob.

Item, pro oblationibus usque ad diem Sabbati, xj. diem Aprilis, per vij. dies, ix d. Pro gallinis ad falcones, xiiij. den. Pro busca per dictum tempus, iij s. ij d. Pro litera in cameris, iiij. sol'. Lotrici, xiiij d. Item, pro vestibus Johannis Paschalibus faciendis cum cerico filo et syndone per Henricum Cissorem Johannis, ij s. xj d. Stephano falconario querenti falconem Johannis perditum in circuitu Cantebrige, xij d. Item, pauperi pagio Wille nomine moranti apud Soham, propter Deum, detento infirmitate, xij. den. Item, pro retibus ad aves capiendas emptis Witteford' per Voskinum garcionem Johannis, xvij d. Penant misso propter dextarios Johannis apud Donestaple ut ad torniamentum de Croroys clamatum venirent, ix d. Item, nuncio misso de Croroys cum literis Senescalci ad Vicecomitem Norf' prop-

ter falconem Johannis perditum, x d. Item, pro expensis duorum dextrariorum Johannis de Langlee usque Bernewelle per tres dies, et abinde redeundo ad torniamentum clamatum Croendon', per iiii^{or} dies, in feno avena et litera, decomputatis vj s. viij d. datis custodibus dictorum dextrariorum pro eisdem expensis faciendis et allocatis Egidio clerico in computatione Ricardi clerici filiorum domini Emundi et sua de torniamentis, scilicet, de Warewik' et de Donestapple, iiij d. Pro vadiis ij. garcionum dictorum dextrariorum per dictos septem dies, ij s. iiij d. Item, pro sella et freno unius de dextrariis et capistris eorum reficiendis, cum ferrura, xiij d. Item, pauperi menstraldo in adjutorium robe sue emende, cui domine filie Regis presente Johanne adjutorium prius fecerunt, iij. solid. Item, pro ludo Johannis ad Bollas apud Soham, xij. den. Item, pro expensis quatuor vallettorum de officiis et pagiorum ad equos morantium apud Bernewelle, Rege navigio procedente apud Ely, per tres dies, iij s. Item, pro vadiis Stephani falconarii morantis in circuitu Sancti Albani Johanne versus Croenden' propter torniamentum recedente, pro se et suo equo per vij. dies, iiij s. iiij d. Pro ij. capistris ad duos dextrarios, vj. aliis ad palefridos, sommarios et cursores, cum trumellis emptis London' per Lovekinum marescalcum, iiij s. viij. den. . . . . Summa, xxxvij s. xj d.

Item, pro oblationibus Dominica xij^{a} die Aprilis, Johanne die Lune sequenti versus Croendon' recedente, iij d. Pro busca dicta die, vj d. Pro litera in Camera dicta die, xij d. Lotrici dicta die, ij d.

Summa, xxiij d.

Item, pro oblationibus a die Jovis xxiij. die Aprilis, qua Johannes rediit de Croendon' ad Regem apud London' per duos dies, ij d. Pro busca per dictum tempus, vj d. Pro juncis, vj d. Johanne Dominica xxvj^{a} die Aprilis versus Donestapple recedente. Summa, xiiij d.

Item, pro oblationibus a Dominica tertia die Maii qua Johannes rediit de Donestapple ad Regem apud Londoniam dicta die non com-

putata usque ad diem Sabbati sequentem per vj. dies, vj d. Lotrici per vij. dies, xiiij d. Pro busca Londoniis per dictos vj. dies, xxvj d. Pro juncis, x d. Pro calceis datis cuidam pagio Hankino nomine de camera mandato Johannis, per Walterum de Ligne, vj d. Item, pro ij. bracalibus Johannis Londoniis per eundem, cum ligulis, ij s. iij d. ob. Pro longia ad leporarios per eundem, vj d. Summa, vij s. xj d. ob.

Item, pro oblationibus a Dominica x^{a} die Maii usque ad diem Sabbati vigilia Penthecostes sequente per vij. dies, ix. den. Pro gallinis ad falcones per Stephanum falconarium, iii s. vj d. Pro busca per dictum tempus, ij s. iiij d. Pro juncis, viij d. Lotrici, xiiij. den. Pro sellis, sommis et frenis reficiendis Londoniis per Adinettum et Lovekinum marescalcum, v s. vij d. Pro cornu Johannis per Egidium de Wynenghem, vij. den'. Pro pomis Londoniis per Bride, vj. denar'. Parcario cuidam ducenti in parcum quemdam prope Folham trans aquam, iiij d. Pro navigio Johannis et suorum diversis vicibus, eundo de Westmonar' ad hospitium Regis apud Mortelaken ad filium et ad filias Regis Londoniis, et a dictis locis redeundo Westmonasterium ac ludendo per Tamisiam, a reditu torniamenti quod clamatum fuit Donestapple usque ad dictam vigiliam Penthecostes, per Bosard' videlicet xvj d., per Egidium de Wynengham iij s., per Hugel' de Rigny ix d., per capellanum Johannis xvij d., per Egidium clericum vij d., per Johannem de Baremb' v d., per Adinettum iiij d., et per Henekinum iiij d. Item, pro pelvi liganda per Egidium armatorem Johannis, v d. Pro parvo cofino Johannis ligando per eundem, ij s. Pro retibus emptis Londoniis per eundem, xxvj d. Pro duobus ensibus parandis Londoniis per eundem, iij s. Pro loricis et pileis ferreis parandis ibidem per eundem, ij s. ix d. Pro dimidia pelle cervi ibidem per eundem, xvj. den. Pro anulis argenteis et laqueis ad pileos per eundem, xviij d. Pro bulgis ad garderobam Johannis per eundem, vij s. Pro iiij. paribus parvorum calcarium ibidem per eundem, xij d. ob. Pro vestibus Johannis faciendis in festo Penthecostes, pro syndone, filo et cerico ad easdem per Henricum cissorem Johannis, xx d. Pro iiij^{or} paribus largarum cirotecarum Johannis

Londoniis per Woterkinum barbitorem, xiij. den. Pro xij. thenis faciendis pro Johanne Londoniis per dictum barbitorem, ij s. Pro pane, vino, et aliis ad quoddam parvum prandium non premunitum pro abbate Gemblacensi et domino Daniele transeuntibus ante hospitium Johannis eundo ad curiam Regis, et tractis in dictum Johannis hospitium, ij s. vj d. ob. Pro quibusdam medicinalibus ad curam Oliveri garcionis hospitii Johannis infirmi comparatis per dominum J. capellanum Johannis, iiij s. vj d. Pro duobus paribus calceorum pro Johanne Londoniis vigilia Penthecostes per Waterkinum de Ligne, xij d. Pro falcone Johannis perdito redempto erga quemdam virum qui eum emerat erga alterum qui eum invenit, xxxvj s. + Item, pro expensis Theobaldi fratris domini Johannis de Duiz jacentis propter infirmitatem apud Norhamton' per vij. septimanas mandato ejusdem militis, lxxiij s. v d. + Item, pro expensis dominorum Johannis predicti et Johannis capellani visitantium dictum Theobaldum ad dictum locum mandato dicti domini J. de Duz, xxiij s. vj d. ob. +

Summa, ix li. x s. vj d. ob.

Item, compotus Remondi de Bourdeaus: Pro duabus sellis in Nativitate domini ultimo preterita pro Johanne et Anfrido de armis domini Guidonis Ferrei, xx s. Item, de eodem pro sella simili domini Johannis de Duz, xiij s. iiij d. Pro calcaribus deauratis pro eodem, de eodem, viij d. + Item, pro sella dextrarii pro Johanne de eodem cum clipeo domini Godefridi de Brabantia, xvj s. Pro sella cursoris de eodem, cum eodem clipeo, xiij s. iiij d. Item, de eodem pro sella altera cursoris cum armis domini Emundi, xiij s. Item, de eodem pro duabus sellis de armis domini Thome Paenel de festo Penthecostes nunc instante, pro Johanne et Anfrido, xx s. Item, de eodem pro sella simili domini J. de Duz, xiij s. iiij d. Pro calcaribus deauratis pro eodem, viij d. + Item, pro tribus paribus cingulorum pro Johanne de eodem, xviij d.

Summa rem' cxj s. Summa totalis, xxxiiij lib. iiij s. iiij d. ob.

Probata.

Summa totalis, iij. rotulorum simul attachiatorum, cxlvij li. vij s. x d. Probata. De quibus viij li. xiiij s. iij d. ob. calumpniantur superius in diversis particulis crucesignatis, et tanta summa retinetur in garderoba de ista summa totali donec fuerint probata per Thesaurarium.

Inde recepit Egidius in una recepta anno xxj° mense Decembris, xl li.

Item, xij. die Aprilis ibidem, xv li. Item, xxvj. die Aprilis, xl li.

Et debentur ei iiij^{xx}ij li. vij s. x d. Probata.

Inde recepit l li. xxviij. die Maii. Item, xxxij li. vij s. x d. xxx. die Maii, et sic perpacatur.

Contra-rotulus expensarum hospicii Johannis de Brebantia, Thome et Henrici filiorum Domini Edmundi, inceptus per Ricardum de Loutheborg' clericum aput Chestehonte xiij. die Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo primo. Die Lune xiij. Aprilis, apud Chestehonte. Summa, iiij lb. xviij s. ix dn. ob. Die Martis sequente, aput Merton. Summa, vj lb. xv s. iij d. Die Mercurii ibidem. Summa, vj lb. ix s. viij dn. Die Jovis sequente ibidem. Summa, vj lb. ij d. ob. Die Veneris sequente ibidem. Summa, iiij lb. iij s. v d. Die Sabbati sequente ibidem. Summa, Cv s. ix d. ob.

Summa vj. dierum prescriptorum, xxxiiij lb. xiij s. j d. ob.

Die Dominica xix. die Aprilis ibidem. Summa, iiij lb. vij s. x dn. Die Lune ibidem. Summa, vj lb. vj s. vij d. ob. Die Martis ibidem. Summa, iiij lb. xij s. Die Mercurii ibidem. Summa, Cviij s. viij d. ob. Die Jovis ibidem et London'. Summa, xxxv s. iiij dn. Die Veneris ibidem. Nil. Die Sabbati ibidem. Nil.

Summa septimane, xxij lb. x s. vj dn.

Die Dominica vicesima sexta die Aprilis apud Herteford. Summa, Cxviij s. iij d. Die Lune sequente, apud Donestaple. Summa, vij lb. viij s. iiij d. Die Martis sequente ibidem. Summa, Cxviiij s. iiij d. ob. Die Mercurii sequente ibidem. Summa, vj lb. xiij s. ij d. ob. Die Jovis sequente ibidem. Summa, vj lb. iij s. ij d. Die Veneris, j. die Maii, apud Sanctum Albanum. Summa, viij lb. j d. ob. Die Sabbati ibidem. Summa, vj lb. xxiij dn. Summa septimane, xlvj lb. iij s. iiij d. ob.

Die Dominica iij. die Maii, mane ibidem. Summa, xxxviij s. vj dn.
Summa patet. Summa hospitii, Cv lb. v s. vj dn.
Probata.

Thoma et Henrico filiis Domini Edmundi et Johanne de Brabantia euntibus ad torneamenta clamata Croendon et Donestaple post Pascha anno regni Regis Edwardi xxj.

Pro l. libris cere empte London' per Hobekinum varlettum Thome, xxv s.; vj den. pro libra qualibet computatis. Pro liminione per Bride, xviij d. Item, pro vj lb. cere empte apud Sanctum Albanum, cum liminione, iij s. ij d. Pro navigio filiorum Domini Edmundi predictorum Johannis et suorum euntium de Croendon' prope London' et London' ad Regem diversis vicibus per Dominos Gaufridum de Langlee, Johannem de Duz milites, Capellanum Johannis, Scot, Woterkinum de Scorton, ac alios de familia eorundem, iij s. x d. ob. Item, cuidam pauperi fatuo apud Sanctum Albanum ad calceos propter deum, vj d. Pro expensis Gilkini armatoris missi de Lochtborch London' propter vestes Thome, Henrici, et Johannis Paschales, negociando et redeundo cum locatione hackenei, viij s. vj d. Custodibus dextrariorum Regis apud Barnewelle, ex parte Thome et Johannis videntium per stabula dictos dextrarios, ij s. Item, cuidam pauperi fatue mulieri, propter deum, per Adinetum, vj d. . . . . Summa, xlv s. vj d. ob.
Probata.

Pro harnesio Johannis emendando apud Donestapple et labellis per Gilkinum armatorem, ij s. iiij den. Pro tribus sellis emptis ibidem per eundem, vij s. iiij d. Pro castonibus ibidem per eundem, tribus paribus falerum et pro corda, xix d. Pro duobus paribus grossorum calcarium ibidem per eundem, viij d. Pro expensis ejusdem Gilkini missi London' eundo negociando et redeundo per ix. dies, ij s. iij d. ob. Pro borellis in hastiludio apud Kynelourde habitis quos idem Gilkinus eo tempore minime computavit, xviij d. Pro labellis ad peramenta de armis Domini Godefridi de Brabantia eodem tempore,

viij d., per dictum Gilkinum. Pro roncino dato Golardo de Moy militi apud Donestapple super campos, xl s. . Summa, lvj s. iiij d. Probata.

Quatuor predicatoribus de Alemannia apud Merton' transeuntibus ut viderent Johanni de Brabantia, propter deum, v s. Pro pelle rubea ad ligulas per Capellanum Johannis, xviij d. Penant misso de London' in Brabantia cum litteris Johannis, vj s. Willecoc, parvo pagio canium mandato Johannis apud Sanctum Albanum, vj d. Pro expensis Woterkini barbitoris Johannis egrotantis per octo dies, iij s. vij d. Pro ludo Johannis ad bollas apud Merton', vj den. Item, pro expensis duorum dextrariorum Johannis et duorum cursorum a die Jovis xxiij^{to} die Aprilis de Merton' usque Kynemarswourde per tres dies sequentes, et unius de eisdem dextrariis et trium cursorum apud Donestapple Dominica sequente, eadem Dominica altero dextrario apud Kynemarswourde leso remanente, decomputatis v s. et vj d. allocatis in expensis hospitii apud Donestapple sequenti die Lune, pro expensis eorundem dextrariorum et cursorum, xix d. ob. per Colinum. Pro expensis dicti dextrarii lesi jacentis Kynemarswourde a Dominica predicta per xvj. dies immediate sequentes, in feno, avena, et furfure cum vadiis Colini predicti custodis ejusdem dextrarii per decem dies infra dictum tempus, quibus sua vadia nusquam sibi fuerunt allocata quia Johannes reversus est ad curiam Regis ante predictos decem dies, vij s. vij d. Pro implaustro ad crus lesum dextrarii, x d. Pro sella ejusdem dextrarii ferenda de Donestaple Kynemarswourde, iiij d. Pagio intendenti cursoribus Johannis inter Merton' et Donestapple per iiij. dies, iiij d. Pro expensis dextrarii majoris jacentis Dominica tercia die Maii apud Watteford eundo de Donestapple apud Wemelee cum vadiis garcionis ejusdem dextrarii dicta die, x d. Pro vadiis Stephani falconarii Johannis manentis London' duabus noctibus post recessum Johannis a dicto loco versus Donestapple per se et suo equo, xv d. Pro litera Bosardi et aliquorum aliorum famulorum Johannis euntis de Merton' ad Regem existentem prope London' et Londoniis, hospitio Thome et

Johannis Merton' existente, per Woterkinum de Ligne et Woterkinum barbitorem, cum elemosinis datis mandato Johannis passagio Tamisie apud Cenlee eundo ad filium et ad filias Regis apud Mortelaken et pro speculo fracto reficiendo per dictum barbitorem, iii s. iiij d. Item pro vadiis Jacke cartarii longe carecte et socii preequitantis a die Martis xxx. die Decembris qua Thomas et Johannes recesserunt de Rege existente apud Novum Castrum versus Warewik' ad torniamentum clamatum ibidem usque ad diem Dominicam primam diem Martii qua redierunt ad Regem apud Gheredon' per lxj. dies, xxij s. x d. obol. . . . . Summa, lvj s. j d.

Probata.

Summa totalis istius cedule, vij li. xvij s. xj d. o'.

Probata.

Rotulus expensarum Thome et Henrici filii Domini Edmundi germanorum Regis Anglie inceptus per Ricardum de Loutheborg' clericum aput Merton' xix. die Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo primo.

Eodem die ibidem computat idem Ricardus liberata cuidam cursori misso de Foxton' usque Tuttebers propter magnos equos contra torniamentum clamatum apud Croindon' et venienti London' morando in dicto itinere per xij. dies, ij s.

Item, eodem die ibidem liberata cuidam cursori misso cum litteris Thome Domino Laurentio de Sancto Mauro, iij s. viij d.

Item eodem die computat dictus Ricardus pro expensis j. garcionis missi cum literis Thome Willielmo Briquevill' per duas vices, ij s.

Item, eodem die liberata cuidam cursori misso fratri Simoni de Wardo cum literis Thome, iiij d.

Die Veneris j. die Maii apud Sanctum Albanum computat Ferinus Lombardus pro expensis viij. dextrariorum Domini venientium de Tuttebers usque Merton' contra torniamentum clamatum apud Croindon' cum expensis viij. garcionum custodentium dictos equos morandorum in dicto itinere per octo dies, xxxvj s. vj d.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat idem Ferinus pro expensis dictorum viij. dextrariorum redeuncium de Donestaple usque Tuttebers, xx s.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat Jacobus Daubigni pro expensis ipsius euntis usque Donestaple de mandato Thome, x d.

Die Dominica iij. die Maii Lond' computat Walterus de Baa pro xlviij. ulnis linee tele Dailisham empte ad robas lineas faciendas pro Thoma et Henrico, ix s.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat idem Walterus pro vj. ulnis de brunetto emptis ad caligas faciendas, xx s. x d.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat idem Walterus pro xj. ulnis de wrstede ad caligas faciendas, viij s. iiij d. ob.

Item eodem die ibidem computat idem Walterus pro viij. paribus calcarium emptis pro Thoma et Henrico, xxj d.

Item, eodem die ibidem pro uno speculo empto pro Henrico, ij s.

Item, eodem die ibidem pro ij. paribus huseorum emptis pro Thoma et Henrico et xvj. paribus sotularum, xj s. viij d.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat W. de Ba pro xij. corigiis emptis pro Thoma et Henrico, iiij s.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat idem Walterus pro xix. paribus cirotecarum emptis, iij s. ij d.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat idem Walterus pro j. coreo rubeo de capriola empto ad ligulas faciendas, ij s.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat idem Walterus pro ij. brakalibus emptis pro Thoma et Henrico, ij s.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat idem Walterus pro iiij. sellis someriis, iiij. saccis de coreo ad pannos, et iij. belabris emptis de Johanne le coffrer, iiij lb. v s. j d.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat Petrus Ferrator pro reparatione trium sellarum somerium, iiij. frenis emendis, vj. capistris de coreo emptis, xj s.

Item, eodem die computat idem Petrus pro xij. cingulis, vj. supercingulis longis, et plustulis, emptis v s. iij d.

Item, die Jovis sequente Westm' pro oblacione J. de Brabantia, Thome et Henrici et suorum, vj d.

Item, eodem die ibidem computat W. de Baa pro ij. lapidibus preciocis datis Thome imponendis in auro, iiij s. viij d. ob.

Item, eodem die computat Ricardus de Louth' pro vadiis lotricis Thome et Henrici a xxiij. die Decembris apud Novum Castrum super Tinam usque ad ultimam diem ejusdem mensis, videlicet, per ix. dies, percipiens per diem ij d., xviij d.

Item, computat idem Ricardus pro vadiis ejusdem lotricis a prima die Martii apud Gerondon' usque ad xiij. diem Aprilis, videlicet, per xliiij. dies, vij s. iiij d.

Item, computat idem Ricardus pro vadiis ejusdem lotricis a xxiij. die Aprilis usque ad vicesimam sextam diem ejusdem mensis, videlicet, per iij. dies, vj d.

Item, computat idem Ricardus pro vadiis ejusdem lotricis a iij. die Maii usque ad xvj. diem ejusdem mensis, videlicet, per xiiij. dies, ij s. iiij d.

Die Dominica xvij. die Maii, videlicet in festo Penthecostis, pro oblatione Johannis de Brebantia, Thome de Lancastria, Henrici fratris ejus, et suorum, xxiij d.

Item, die Mercurii sequente computant Ricardus de Louth' et Walterus de Ba pro diversis batillagiis pro J. de Brebantia, Thoma de Lancastria, Henrici fratris ejus et suorum a iij. die Maii usque ad hunc diem, iiij s. vj d.

Item, eodem die computat Henricus Scot pro factura xij. garniamentorum Thome et Henrici et militium, cum filo serico et cindone et ligatura, et pro custura viij. robarum linearum, vij s. vij d.

Die Dominica x. die Maii ibidem computat Philippus de Schirborn pro ij. cindonis fortibus emptis ad cooperiendas iiij. paria hernesii, cum sellis, cristis, testeris, piceris et aliis de armatura Ducis Brebantie, precium pecii, x s. vj d., xxj s.

Item, pro battura dicti hernesii, xxvj s. viij d.

Item, pro xiiij. onciis de freng' emptis pro dictis hernesiis, precium oncie xiiij d., xvj s. iiij d.

Item, pro vj. ulnis de carda, ij s.

Item, pro vj. pellibus parcameni ad cristas faciendas, xviij d.

Item, pro castonibus et clavis ad testeras et cristas, ij s.

Item, pro factura armorum eorundem, x s.

Item, pro corda, v. paribus cingularum, et iij. supercingularum, iij s. ix d.

Item, pro locagio ij. haquenorum portantium dictum hernesium de London' usque Croindon' et de Croindon' usque Donestaple et de Donestaple iterum London', cum expensis ij. garcionum Philippi de Schirborn' per xiiij. dies, x s. vj d.

Item, computant Ricardus de Louth' et Walterus Baa pro ij. equis emptis et datis apud Donestaple Domino Johanni de Barr' et Domino Golardo Dermoises per Thomam et Henricum, lx s.

Item, computat Reymondus de Bordeus pro iiij. sellis ad palefridos emptis pro Thoma, Henrico, Domino Galfrido de Langelee, et Domino Alano de Wandesseph, xlvj s. viij d.

Item, computat idem Reymondus pro ij. sellis ad cursores de armis Comitis Sabaudie, xxiiij s.

Item, computat idem Reymondus pro ij. paribus cingularum emptis per eundem, xij d.

Item computat Dominus G. de Langelee in donis factis per plures vices pauperibus ministrallis de precepto Thome, xxij d.

Summa, xxiiij lb. ix s. viij d.

Probatur.

Inde recepit dictus Ricardus de Loughtebourgh apud Westm' xxvij. die Maii, xx li. Item, recepit iiij li. ix s. viij d. Et sic perpacatur.

In dorso.

Compotus J. de Brabantia et Thome et H. filiorum Domini Edmundi usque Pentecosten anno xxj° de expensis suis.

NOTES.

Page 1, line 2. *Anfridi de Boum;* Humfridi de Boum. It will be remarked that most of the proper names are spelt in a peculiar manner, the Flemish pronunciation having been followed.

Line 11. *Gilkinum armatorem;* afterwards "Egidius" (p. 7). In the Royal Wardrobe Account 18 Edward I. the following names of the Prince's attendants are given: Roger de Stalham, clerk of the household; Hancock, valet of the pantry and buttery; William, of the kitchen; Bride, of the chamber; Gosekin, tailor; Walter, barber; Agnes, laundress; Geoffrey, farrier; Francis and Forsekin, falconers; Gisekin and Franskin, sumptors (*i.e.* attendants to the sumpter horses); and Pennant and Cade, palfreymen. Several of these will be recognised in the following pages, with some variation in the spelling of their names.

Line 14. *Rokeborch;* Roxburgh.

Line 15. *Gedeworde;* Jedburgh.

P. 2, line 28. *Dextrariorum;* destriers or chargers. Besides these, the most important of the stud, the Prince's horses consisted of coursers (cursores), palfreys, and rownceys (pallfridi et runcini), and sumpter or pack horses (sommarii). Each class had its regular attendants.

P. 3, line 30. *Tixutorum;* cloths for covering the horses.

P. 4, line 10. *Gheredon;* Grendon, Bucks. Also written Croendon, Croindon, and Gerondon.

Line 26. *Brochton;* Broughton.

P. 5, line 17. *Thenas;* caps. "Et tenam suam de capite suo cepit, et in luto projecit."—Plac. Cor. Reg. 15 Edw. I. In the Promptorium Parvulorum, "Tena" is given as the gloss for "Huwyr," the name of a cap in the fifteenth century. On p. 8, line 1, is an entry of "xij. thenis," probably for presents.

Line 18. *Barbitorem;* barber.

Line 31. *De Croroys;* Cruce Roesie; Royston, Herts.

P. 7, line 5. *Bracalibus;* gardebras, bracers. A protection for the left arm, often made of costly materials.

Line 26. *Loricis et pileis;* hauberks and basinets.

Line 29. *Bulgis ad garderobam;* leathern bags for the wardrobe.

P. 8, line 1. *Woterkinum;* Walter.

Line 25. *Domini Emundi;* Edmund first Earl of Lancaster, younger brother of the King, and father of the Thomas and Henry so often mentioned.

P. 9, lines 2 to 4. *Calumpniantur, &c.* This refers to the checking of the account, on the giving in of which it seems that some items were not satisfactory; against these crosses were put, and their amount was not to be paid till the opinion of the Treasurer (probably of the Royal Household) was taken upon them. The payments that follow shew that they were all discharged.

Line 10. *Contra-rotulus expensarum, &c.* Here commences the second membrane, which is not in the same hand, but is written by an English scribe. The entries relate only to the ordinary household expenses.

P. 10, line 4. *Thoma, Henrico, &c.* Membrane 3 begins here, written in the same foreign hand as the first.

Line 17. *Lochtborch;* Loughborough, Leicester.

Line 25. *Castonibus;* chastons or chaussetons; breeches worn over mail armour. A diminutive of chausses.—Meyrick. In the roll of purchases for the tournament at Windsor, 6 Edw. I. is a payment for "lxxvj. par' chaston."—Archæologia, xvii. p. 297. See postea, p. 15.

Line 26. *Tribus paribus falerum;* three pairs of studs or bosses for horse-gear.

Line 29. *Borellis in hastiludio*; blunt spears for a hastilude. In the thirteenth century a harmless kind of tournament was practised for acquiring address and proving strength, in which mock lances called "bouhoury," were used.—Meyrick, i. 125.

Kynelourde; Kenilworth?

Line 32. *Peramenta;* pouches or small bags.

P. 11, line 12. *Kynemarswourde;* Kensworth, Herts?

Line 28. *Wemelee;* Wimley, Herts.

P. 12, line 3. *Cenlee;* Chelsea?

Line 14. *Rotulus expensarum, &c.* Membrane 4. It is in the same hand as mem. 2.

Line 19. *Tuttebers;* Tutbury, Stafford.

Line 30. *Merton;* Merston, Bucks?

P. 13, line 7. *Tele Dailisham;* cloth of Aylesham, Norfolk.

Line 18. *Corigiis;* girdles.

Line 27. *Belabris;* double-mouthed sacks, or, as it is expressed, "double-lipped." See Du Cange, s. v. Bisaccia. A MS. 44 Edw. III. shews them to have been used for carrying treasure, and that they then had locks.

P. 14, line 26. *Cindone;* sindon, a kind of cloth.—See Du Cange, s. v.

Line 30. *Testeris;* testieres, head-pieces fixed on the horse's head between the ears, in which a crest was put.—Meyrick. See postea, p. 15. *Piceris;* a portion of horse-armour not assigned in Meyrick. In the Inventory of Louis le Hutin dated 1316, there printed, occur "Item, picieres et flanchieres de samit des armes le roy."

P. 15, line 1. *Batturæ;* a metal composition, chiefly copper, used for ornamental purposes. It is a very early instance of its use. See article on "The use of Tin in Girdles," in Journal of Archæological Institute, No. xxv. (October, 1852), p. 281.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES

OF

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH

DURING HER

RESIDENCE AT HATFIELD

OCTOBER 1, 1551, TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1552.

EDITED BY

VISCOUNT STRANGFORD, G.C.B., G.C.H.

F.R.S., Director S.A.; &c., &c.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.L.III.

INTRODUCTION.

The MS. Accompt of the Household Expenses of the Princess Elizabeth, during one year of her residence at Hatfield (viz. from October 1, 1551, to September 30, 1552), which is now communicated to the Camden Society, was given to me in the year 1827 by Mrs. Grace Barnes, the widow of the late William Barnes, Esq. of Redland Hall, near Bristol. It had been bought in by her for the sum of one hundred and fifty guineas at the sale of that gentleman's library, by Mr. Evans, in 1822. Of its previous history I am unable to say more than that it had been the property of Mr. Gustavus Brander; that at his decease it was purchased by Samuel Tyssen, Esq.; and that subsequently, through what intermediate channel I have not discovered, it came into the possession of Mr. Barnes. As it does not appear in the sale catalogue of Mr. Tyssen's library, it is possible that it may have come to Mr. Barnes by exchange for some other article in Mr. Barnes's collections.

Some account of the MS. is to be found in "The Antiquarian Repertory" (vol. i. p. 64), and in Nichols's "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth" (vol. i. p. vii.) It is in the original binding, and consists of twenty-six folio pages (size twenty-three inches by sixteen), each bearing the signature of the Princess, and counter-signed by Sir Walter Buckler, then her chamberlain. Beside an illuminated commencement, in gold and colours,* there are five pen-and-ink drawings, forming as many capital initial letters: which are designed

* The initial of "Thaccumpte" incloses a slip of a rose-bush, at the head of which is a red and white rose charged with the letter E, and at each side a bud: the slip standing on a green mound between two strawberries.

in a very high style of (probably) Italian art. Of two of them fac-similes are introduced into this volume; the subject of one of which has completely baffled me, though I have sought for it in all the works on emblems, &c. to which I could procure access. On looking at the Latin hexameters (or what appear to be such) which accompany some of these drawings, it is to be feared that the princess did not very carefully retain the prosodial lessons which she must have received from Roger Ascham.

On one of the covers there appear these memoranda, in writing of the seventeenth century.

"Heere is remayning in this Booke of Velam thirteen leaves—1627." and beneath it, "Ex dono Dom. Gregorij Ballard, olim è Coll. D. Johannis Baptistæ LL. Baccalaurei, et Diocœsis Oxoniensis Registrarii, Ann. CIↃ DC LII."

There are two points in Elizabeth's character which derive no confirmation from these "Accompts"—her fondness for literature, and her passion for dress. Of books she seems to have made only two additions to her library, in 1551-2, one of which was a present; and her expenses for the wardrobe are on the most moderate scale. Of another trait, that of parsimony, for which she became subsequently so remarkable, I know not whether it be fair to infer its existence from the circumstance that she does not seem to have spent more, in twelve months, than 7*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* in "allmes to dyverse pore men and wemen at sondrie times." The only gift which this Account records is that of 70*l.* to "Mr. Edmond Bollen, her graces kynsman."

It is somewhat remarkable that she should so frequently appear as a vendor or purveyor to her brother the King of articles necessary for the maintenance of the royal household, such as beer, Gascony wine, wax candles, salt fish, "muttons," coal, and brushwood.

STRANGFORD.

London, 1852.

HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT

OF THE

PRINCESS ELIZABETH,

1551–2.

THE HOUSE OF THE RIGHT EXCELLENT PRYNCES THE LADIE ELIZABETH HER GRACE.

Fol. 1. THACCUMPTE OF THOM^AS PARRY, ESQUYER,

Coaferor to the righte excellent Princesse the Ladie Elizabeth her grace, the Kinges Majesties moste honorable sister, aswell of all and singler somes of Redie money to him deliuered by her graces owne handes, and all other her graces Officers, with all somes of money by him receaved of Forren Receiptes. As also the payment and disbursing of the same, unto her graces handes or otherwise, for the provision of her graces Householde and expences of the same. From the first daie of October in the fifte yere of the raigne of our most drad Soveraigne Lord Edwarde the sixte, by the grace of God, king of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defendor of the Faith, and in erthe of the churche of Englande and also of Irelande Supreme hedde, unto the laste daye of September in the vj^th yere of his Ma^ties moste prosperouse raigne: That is to saye, for one hoale yere as foloweth.

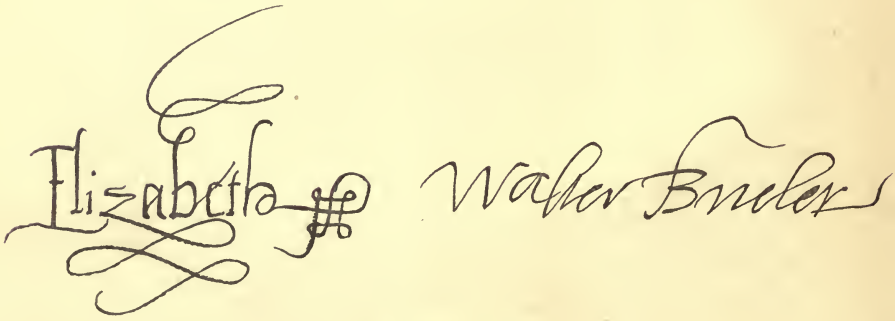
THE SAID MR. PARRYE IS CHARGED WITH CERTEN SOMES OF MONEY BY HIM RECEAVED AND TO HIM PAYD:—

The remayne with the prest of the laste yere.

The said Thomas Parrye esquire is charged with the remayne of sondrie prouicõns by him lefte the furst daye of October, Anno quinto Regis nunc, within every office of the house, as appereth in the fote of his laste accompte: That is to saye, with the some of xviij.li. remayning in the Bakehouse and Pantrie; And with the some of lxxij.li. iiij.s. remayning in the Butterye and Sellar; And with the some of xxj.li. viiij.s. v.d. ob. remayning in the Spicerie and Chaundrie; And with the some of CCCCxxxvj.l. xiij.s. ij.d. remayning in the Kechyn and Catrie; And with the some of xv.li. xvj.s. j.d. remayning in the Squillerie; And with the some of iij.s. viij.d. remayning in the Sawserie; And with the some of xxv.li. v.s. iiij.d. remayning in the Woodyarde; And with the some of iiij.li. vj.d. remayning in the Stable; And with the some of Clxix.li. vij.s. viij.d. delivered in prest to John Newman; And with the some of lxviij.li. xviij.s. ij.d. delivered in prest to Edmonde Wilson; And with the some of lxxiiij.li. xvi.s. delivered in prest to Fraunces Pope; And with the some of xi.li. x.s. viij.d. delivered in prest to Richard Brice; And with the some of xx.s. delivered in prest to Raufe Hope.

Sum̃. D.CCCCxix.li. iij.s. viij.d. ob. videlicet,

The Remayne	.	Diiij^{xx}.xiij.li. vj.s. ij.d. ob.
The Prest	.	CCCxxv.li. xij.s. vj.d.



Fol. 1, b.

By thandes of my Ladies grace.

The said Thomas Parrye esquier is charged with the some of DCCCCxxviij.li. xvj.s. vjd. di. q^{a}. to him deliuered by her grace's owne handes, upon the determinac̃on of his laste accompte, as in the fote of the same more playnly appereth; And with the some of M^{l}.M^{l}.M^{l}.vijC.xxxv.li. xvij.s. iiij.d. tercia pars q^{a}. to him, likewise delivered by her graces owne hands, as appereth upon the determinac̃on of the receyvor's accompte of this yere, being anno Sexto.

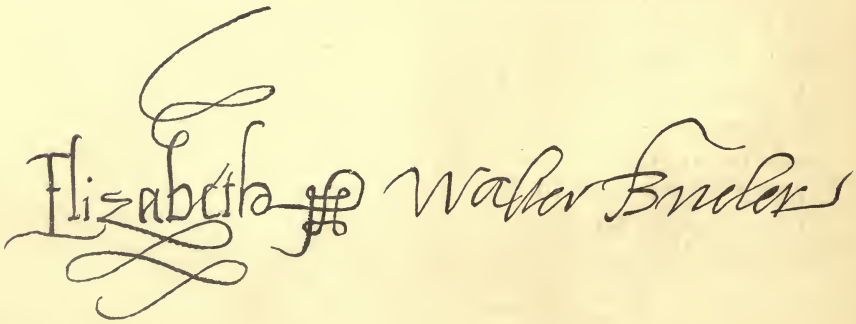
Sm̃ M^{l}.M^{l}.M^{l}.M^{l}.vj.C.lxiiij.li. xiij.s. x.d. di.q^{a} ꝑcia ꝑs q^{a}r.

By thandes of diuerse persons for forren receptes.

The said Mr. Parrye is charged with the some of x.li. iiij.s. i.d ob̃ for vj. quarters iij. b3 dī of wheat spent at Barnet as parcell of her grace's expences goyng to the Courte, which the Kinges Maiestie did paie; And with the some of lij.s. vj.d. for one tonne ij. hogsheddes of Bere, solde to the kinges Ma^{tie} at Saint James and Durham Place. And with the some of viij.li. xviij.s. iiij.d. for one tonne v. cestorns and ij. pitchers of Gascoigne wine, solde as before. And with the some of xl.s. for one hogshed of Gascoigne wine, solde to Mr. Smithe; And with the some of iiij.li. for ij. hogsheddes of Gascoigne wine, solde to Mr. Brightman; And with the some of iiij.li. xiiij.s. ij.d. for Cj.lli. of waxe solde to the King's Maiestie as before; And with the some of xij.s. for viij. dosen of Parris Candelles solde as before; And with the some of xvij.li. xv.s. ix.d. for certen Muttons, Coddes, Linges, Salmons, Eles, and Salte, solde to the Kinges Maiestie as before; And with the some of xlij.s. j.d. for xij. linges and xxxj. coddes, solde to Thomas Benger, your graces Auditor; And with the some of x.s. for v. linges, solde to S^{r} Walter Buckler, Knighte, your graces Chamberlayne; And with the some of xxiiij.s. for xij. linges, solde to Mr. Hampden; And with the some of xxvij.s. vj.d. for twoe loades of Coales, solde to the Kinges Ma^{tie} at Durham

Place; And with the some of ix.li. x.s. viij.d. for lij. loade of Tallwoodde, solde to the kinges Ma^tie at Durham Place; And with the some of viij.li. xijd. for Cxxxviij. loades of Tallewoodde, solde to John Tailor at Enfelde; And with the some of xvj.s. for iiij^or loades of haye, solde to Mr. Parrye; And with the some of xij.s. for iij. loades of haie, solde to M^res Asheley; And with the some of xvij.li. viij.s. iij.d. for xxj. wey xix. stone and ij.lb. of Tallowe, solde to Thomas Stephens; And with the some of xxxiij.li. xvj.d. for Cxvj. Oxehides, solde to John Alley; And with the some of ix.li. vj.s. viij.d. by him receaved of diverse persons for xj. hides of Biffettes and xxix. dosen v. Calve skynnes; And with the some of xxvij.li. xv.s. by him likewise receaved for xx^tie woollefelles at xxiiij.s. the dosen, winterfelles xxiiij. dos ij. at xix.s. the doss. and v. dosen vij. Shortings at xd. the pece; And with the some of vij.li. v.s. x.d. for xiiij. dosen of woollefelles, solde to Robert Olyver; And with the some of iiij.li. vij.s. x.d. for xxvj. dosen of woollefelles, solde for xj.s. the dosen, and xxvj. dosen of Shirtings, solde for iiij.s. the dosen; And with the some of vjs. iiij.d. for xix. Multon skinnes which died of the rotte, for iiij.d. the skynne; And w^th the some of xviij.li. xs. for xviij. todde di of woolle, solde to John Ware for xx.s. the todde. And with the some of xiiij.li. .ijs. iiij.d. of clere money gayned to her graces use in the ij. Creditors at Sainte James and Durham Place, as by M^r Clarke Comptrollor's Boke more at lardge appereth.

Sm̃ CCvij.li. iij.s. viij.d. ob.



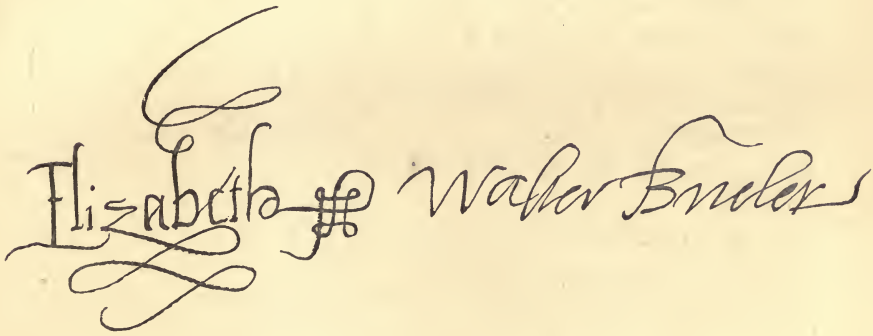
Fol. 2. * *Some Totall of all the Receptes.*

vM^{l}.vijC.iiij^{xx}.xj*li*. xv^{d}. d$\tilde{i}$. q$\overline{b}$. iij^{cia} p$\overline{s}$ q$\overline{b}$, videlt :—

The Remayne with the prest, as appereth upon the determinacion of the laste accompte, ixC.xix.*li*. iij.*s*. viij.*d*. ob$\overline{.}$

Of my Ladies grace at several times, as before appereth, iiiM^{l}.vjC.lxiiij.*li*. xiij.*s*. x.*d*. d$\tilde{i}$ t̃cia p$\overline{s}$ q$\overline{b}$.

Of vendicõns and other Forren Receptes, CCvij.*li*. iij.*s*. viij.*d*. ob$\overline{.}$



[*Fol.* 13.] THERE IS TO BE DEDUCTED SUCHE SOMES OF MONY AS THE SAID MASTER PARRYE HATHE DISBURCED FOR THE PROVIC'ON AND EXPENCES OF THE HOUSEHOLDE WITHIN THOFFICES OF

THE BAKEHOUSE AND PANTRYE.

Fol. 2, b. Furste paid to John Newman for xxiiij. quarters iiij. b$\overline{z}$ wheat . . xvj.*li*. vj.*s*. viij.*d*.

John Newman for xxiiij. quartϱ iiij. b$\overline{z}$ wheat . . . . xvi.*li*. vj.*s*. viij.*d*.

John Newman for xxvj. quartϱ iiij. b$\overline{z}$ wheat . . . . xvij.*li*. xiij.*s*. iiij.*d*.

* In the centre of this folio is a vignette of the initial letter S, accompanied by a figure of Time; the word TEMPVS above: and below,

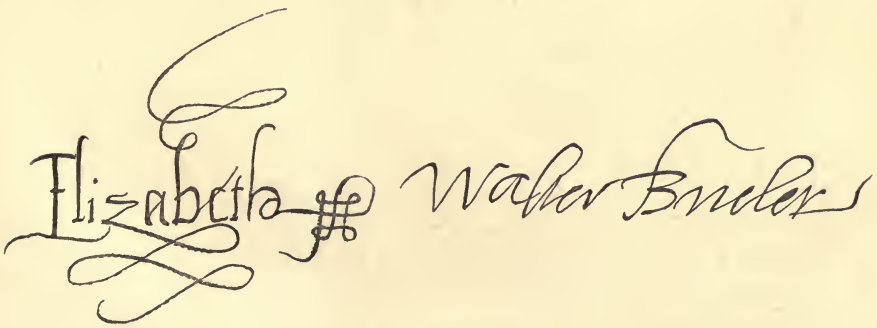
TEMPVS EGO IMENSV SPATIIS DIMETIOR ORBEM.

John Newman for xxviij. qr̃s wheat . xvj.ł. viij.s. iiij.d.
John Newman for xxiiij. qr̃s wheat . xij.ł.
Richard Astrey for iiij. qr̃s wheat . Cvj.s. viij.d.
John Newman for xxv. qr̃ters wheate vii. bȝ . . . . xij.ł. xix.s. iiij.d. ob.
John Sampson for diverse nec̃ies . x.s.
John Maddoxe for Bred boughte . ix.s.
John Adams and his fellowes, for ix. bȝ wheat . . . . xxviij.s. v.d.
Richard Astrey for v. quart̨ iij. bȝ wheat . . . . vij.ł. iij.s. iiij.d.
Thomas Parrye for xv. quart̨ vij. bȝ dī of wheat . . . xv.ł. xviij.s. ix.d.
John Newman for v. q͠rt̨ iiij. bȝ wheat . . . . lv.s.
Thomas Parrye for xiiij. qr̃ters wheat xiiij.ł.
Willm̃ Petiver for diverse nec̃ies . iiij.s.
Nich'as Saunders for v. qr̃ters wheat . Cxviij.s. vj.d.
William Grove for ij. qr̃ters iiij. bȝ wheat . . . . xlvj.s. viij.d.
Edmunde Smithe for ij. qr̃t̨ iiij. bȝ wheat . . . . lviij.s. vj.d.
Richard Astrey for vij. qr̃s wheat . vij.ł.
Thomas Parrye for iiij. qr̃t̨ wheat . iiij.ł.
John Warton for his expenses . ij.s.
John Maddoxe for bred boughte . vj.s. viij.d.
Richard Austrey for v. qr̃t̨ wheat . C.s.
John Lingard and his fellowes, for xiij. qr̃t̨ iiij. bȝ wheat . . vj.ł. xv.s. viij.d.
John Lingard for his expences . iij.s. iiij.d.
John Lingard for xxviij. qr̃t̨ wheat . x.ł.
John Lingard for carriage of wheat . xiij.s. iiij.d.
John Lingard for expences aboute provic̄on . . . . x.s. iiij.d.

Thom̄s Parrye for v. quart̨ wheat	C.s.
John Lingard for LIX. q̄r̄t wheat	xx.li. xvij.s. iiij.d.
John Lingarde for his expenses	xij.s. vj.d.
	CCxj.li. xiiij.iiij.s. iiij.d. ob.

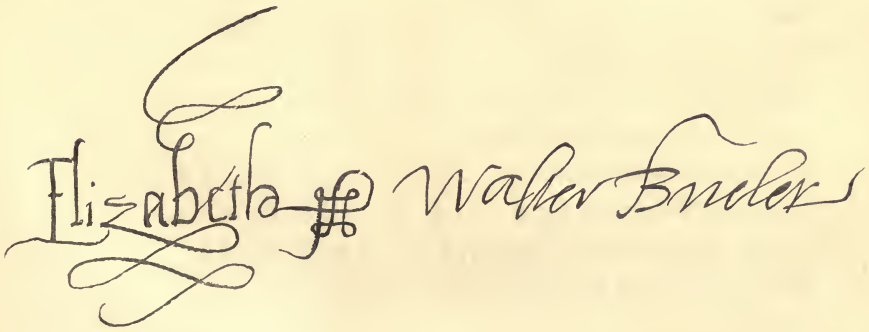
THE BUTTRYE AND SELLOR.

Edmunde Wilson for x. doł of bere	x.li. iij.s.
Richard Thorntone for cariage	xxiiij.s.
Richard Appes for cariage of iij. doł of wine	xvij.s.
Richard Austrey for carr̄ of bere	iiij.s. v.d. ob.
Willm̄ Russell for his expences	vj.s. viij.d.
Edmunde Wilson for nec̄ies	vij.s. ix.d.
Edmunde Wilson for xv. tonnes of bere	xiiij.li. x.s.
Richard Austrey for cariage	v.s. viij.d.
William Russell for an emptie case	iiij.s.
Edmunde Wilson for x. tonne one pipe of bere	x.li. iij.s.
Richard Thorntone for swete wine	Cij.s.
Richard Thorntone for Raynishe wine	xliiij.s. j.d.



Fol. 3. Richard Thornton for Gascoigne wine . iiij.ħi.
Richard Thornton for carriage of wine . xiij.s. iiij.d.
Richard Appes for cariage of wine . xiij.s. iiij.d.
Richard Astrey for cariage of bere . iiij.s. viij.d.
Willm̃ Petiver for mending of a plaitte xx.s.
Edmund Wilson for xij. doł of bere . xij.ħi. vj.s. vj.d.
John Garner for x. doł of Gaskoigne wine . . . . iiij.^{xx} ħi.
Richard Thorntone for cariage of wine xl.s. ij.d.
Richard Appes for cariage of wine . xj.s. iiij.d.
Richard Astrey for cariage of bere . v.s. iiij.d.
William Russell for his expences . xxi.s. viij.d.
John Barteley for his expences . viij.s.
Edmunde Wilson for xiij. toonne of bere . . . . xiij.ħi. xij.d.
Richard Thorntone for swete wine . xxvij.s. vj.d.
Richard Appes for cariage of wine . v.s. viij.d.
Richard Astrey for cariage of bere . v.s. vij.d.
Richard Thornton for carriage of wine v.s.
John Ballarde for his expenses . x.s.
Edmunde Wilson for howping of caske xix.s. x.d.
Edmunde Wilson for ix. doł of emptie caske . . . . lxiiij.s. iiij.d.
Edmunde Wilson for xv. tonnes of bere . . . . xiiij.ħi. xs.
Richard Astrey for cariage of bere . vj.s. j.d.
Richard Thornton for the like . iij.s.
John Barteley for neccies . . ij.s. viij.d.
Henry Traforde for cariage of caske . xlij.s.
Richard Thorntone for casque bought lxxv.s. iiij.d.
Richard Astrey for xv. tonnes bere . xiiij.ħi. xs.
Richard Thorntone for swete wyne . xij.s. iiij.d.
Richard Astrey for carriage of bere . vj.s. iij.d.
Richard Appes for carr̃ of wyne . v.s. viij.d.

Willm̃ Ryaunce for howping of casque	xxv.s.
John Grene for clappeborde . .	iiij.l. xs.
John Warner for vj. dol of casque .	xxvj.s.
Richard Astrey for xiij. tonnes iij. hogsheddes of bere . . .	xiij.li. xx.d.
Richard Thorntone for swete wyne .	lxiiij.s. iij.d.
Richard Thorne for Rochell wyne .	xlvij.s. iiij.d
Richard Astrey for carriage of bere .	iiij.s. iiij.d.
Richard Thornton for sponage of wyne	xxviij.s.
Richard Appes for carr. of wyne .	xvij.s.
John Woodhouse for carriage of casque	xxix.s. iiij.d.
Willm̃ Ryaunce for howping . .	xxviij.s.
Richard Astrey for xij. tonne of bere .	xj.li. xvij.s. x.d.
John Skidmore and his fellows for carriage of wyne . . .	xxvij.s.
Richard Astrey for carr̃ of bere .	vs. xd.
Robert Morgan for necc̃ies . .	ij.s. viij.d.
William Ryaunce for howping and carriage	xxiiij.s.
John Grene for carriage of clapborde	lvij.s. ij.d.
Richard Astrey for xv. tonne bere .	xiiij.li. xix.s. viij.d.



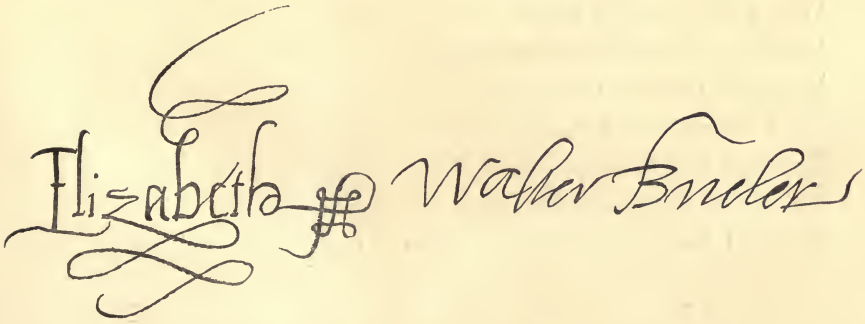
Fol. 3. *b.*

John Ballard for carriage of bere	. liiij.ʂ.
Willm̃ Ryaunce for howping	. xxvj.ʂ.
John Ballard for carr. of bere	. xliij.ʂ.
Richard Thorntone for swete wyne	. xxxv.ʂ. viij.d̃.
Richard Astrey for xiij. tonne bere	. xij.ℏi. xj.ʂ. iiij.d̃.
Henry Traiforde for carr. of bere	. xliij.ʂ. viij.d̃.
Henry Traiforde for carriage of wine	. iiij.ʂ. iiij.d̃.
Willm̃ Russell for his expenses	. v.ʂ.
Richard Astrey for xiij. tonne bere	. xij.ℏi. xj.ʂ. iiij.d̃.
Oliver Lowth for carriage of bere	. xiij.ʂ. viij.d̃.
Oliver Lowthe for carriage of bere	. xvij.ʂ. iiij.d̃.
	CCCvj.ℏi. viij.ʂ. vij.d̃. ob̃.

THE SPICERIE AND CHAUNDRYE.

Thomas Stevens for CClvj.^{lb} waxe	. x.ℏi. x.ʂ.
Laurence Shreffe for spice	. xj.ℏi. iiij.ʂ.
Thom̃s Stevens for xxx. dosen candelles	xlv.ʂ.
Percivall Smallepage for his expences	. xiij.ʂ. iiij.d̃.
Laurence Sherif for spice	. Cxv.ʂ. viij.d̃.
Laurence Sherif for spice	. xxxij.ʂ.
Thomas Stevens for xxx. dosen candles	xlv.ʂ.
Laurence Shrefe for necc̃ies	. xvij.ʂ.
Thomas Stevens for waxe	. xj.ℏi. vij.ʂ. vj.d̃.
Laurence Shrefe for spice	. xij.ℏi. xiij.ʂ. v.d̃.
Henry Fallowfelde for napparye	. xxiiij.ℏi. iiij.ʂ.
Thomas Stevens for lxxij. dosen candells	. Cviij.ʂ.

John Whaplatt and his fellowse for
necc̃ies . . . . viij.s̃.
Elizabeth Ballarde for wasshing . xxxiiij.s̃.
Percivall Smallpage for his expences . xx.s̃.
Richard Appes for cariage of spice . xvij.s̃.
Thomas Stevens for waxe . . iiij.l̃i. x.s̃.
Laurence Sheriff for spice . . xv.l̃i. v.s̃. ix.d̃. ob̃.
John Tailor for xiiij. elne brushe . xvj.s̃.
Thomas Stevens for l. dosen of candles lxxviij.s̃.
Elizabeth Ballard for expences . x.s̃.
Thomas Stevens for waxe . . xj.l̃i. xvij.s̃.
Laurence Shirrif for spice . . ix.l̃i. ix.s. j.d̃. ob̃.
Henry Traforde for lynnen clothe . xiij.l̃i. viij.s. viij.d̃.
Thõs Stephens for candles . . lx.s̃.
Elizabeth Ballard for necc̃ies . . x.s̃.
John Woodhouse for his expences . viij.s̃. viij.d̃.
Thomas Stevens for waxe . . iiij.l̃i. x.s̃.
Laurence Shirif for spice . . xvj.l̃i. xvj.s̃. iij.d̃.
Henry Fallowfelde for lynnen clothe . l.s̃. x.d̃.
Phillip Brace for canvas . . xvj.l̃i. xxj.d̃.
Thomas Stevens for candles . . xxiiij.s̃.
Elizabeth Ballard for necc̃ies . . xxj.s̃. iij.d̃.

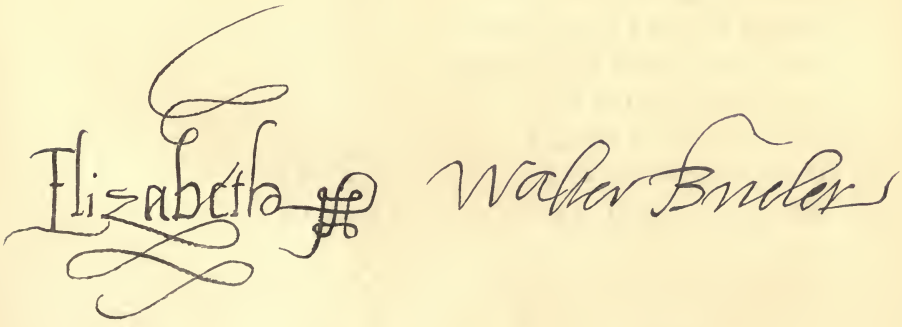


Fol. 4. John Hilton for necc̃ies . . xix.s. ij.d.
Wiłłm Morfett for expences . . viij.s.
John Woodhouse for expences . xvij. s.
Percivall Smallpage . . . liij.s. x.d.
Phillip Brace for necc̃ies . . xxij.s. ij.d.
Thomas Stevens for waxe . . vj.li. x.s.
Laurence Shirif for spice . . xij.li. xi.s. viij.d. ob.
John Hilton for elne brushes . iiij.s.
Thomas Stevens for candles . . xv.s.
Elizabeth Ballard for necc̃ies . . x.s.
Henry Oayne for necc̃ies . . iiij.s.. viii.d.
Richard Appes for carriage of spice . v.s. viij.d.
Thomas Stevens for waxe . . iiij.li. vj.s. viij.d.
Laurence Shirif for spice . . vij.li. vj.d. ob.
Thomas Stevens for candles . . xxx.s.
Elizabeth Ballarde for necc̃ies . x.s.
John Hilton for necc̃ies . . xiiij.s.
Thom̃s Stephens for waxe . . ix.li.
Laurence Shirif for spice . . x.li. xxij.d.
Thom̃s Stephens for candles . . lx.s.
Elizabeth Ballard for necc̃ies . . xxj.s.
Phillip Brace for his expences . viij s.
Wiłłm Mosset for the like . . iij. s.
Richard Appes for carriage of spice . v.s. viij.d.
Elizabeth Ballarde for necc̃ies . x.s.
John Woodhouse for expenses . v.s.
Laurence Shirif for spice . . xj.li.
Thomas Stephens for cattall . . xv.s.
Percivall Smallpage for his expences . lij.s. iiij.d.

Elizabeth Ballarde for expences	. x.s.
Androwe Ronce for carr.	. x.s.
Thomas Stephens for waxe	. iiij.li. iij.s. iiij.d.
Tho. Stevens for candles	. xxx.s.
Laurence Shirif for spice	. xj.li. iiij.s. v.d. ob.
Thomas Stevens for waxe	. xvj.li. xviij.s. viij.d.
Laurence Shirife for spice	. xij.li. iij.s. vj.d.
Thomas Stevens for candles	. xlv.s.
Elizabeth Ballard for neccies	. xxx.s.
John Hilton for the like	. v.s. vj.d.
Olyver Rowthe for carriage of stuffe	. xli. xij.s. iiij.d.
	CCCxl.li. ix.s. ix.d. ob.

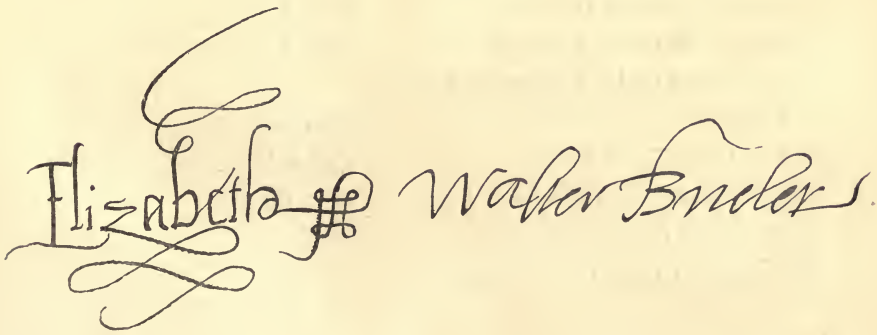
THE KECHYN AND LARDER.

John Brydges for his borde wages	. xv.s.
Richard Hampden for the like	. xxxj.s.
Edmunde Androwes for seafishe	. ix.li. iiij.s. vj.d.
Edmund Andrewes for freshwaterfishe	lvij.s.
Roger Smithe for sowsing drinke	. iiij.s. viij.d.



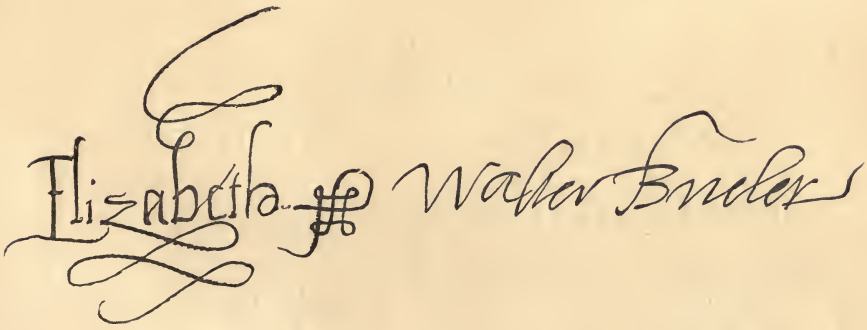
Fol. 4. *b.* Robert Morgan for his bordewages and his fellows . . . lxxij.s.
Edmund Androwes for seafishe . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.
Edmund Androwes for freshwater fishe lxiiij.s. viij.d.
John Arrott for his expences . . iij.s. iiij.d.
Laurence Shirif for necessaries . l.s. iij.d.
George Boyden for the like . . iij.s. iiij.d.
John Breton for bordewages . . xix.s. iiij.d.
Edmund Androws for seafishe . ix.li. ij.s.
Edmund Androws for freshefishe . iiij.l. xij.s. vj.d.
Willm Foster for laborars hire . iiij.s. vj.d.
John Arrat and his fellow in rewarde ij.s. vj.d.
Henry Traford for carriage of veneson . . . . . xxxvij.s.
Thomas Hardwicke for making apparrell . . . . . xxxi.s. iiij.d.
Agnes Colson for the like . . v.s.
Garret Tonson for shoes . . x.s. x.d.
John Twiste and his fellows . . lxxij.s.
Richard Payne and his fellows for bordewages . . . . xl.s.
Henry Clarke for the like . . v.s.
John Gye for his expences . . v.s. iiij.d.
Edmunde Androws for seafishe . ix.li. xj.s. viij.d.
Edmund Androws for freshfishe . ix.li. vij.s. vj.d.
Henry Traiforde for his expences . vj.s. viij.d.
Roger Smithe for the like . . ij.s.
Edward Brocke in rewarde . . viij.s.
Fraunces Pigott for neccies . . ij.s. iiij.d.
John Burton for the like . . xiij.s. iiij.d.

George Royden for the like . . vj.s. viij.d.
George Boiden for neccies . . xvj.s.
Anthony Hille and his fellows for bordewages . . . . iiij.li. x.s. iiij.d.
John Twist and his fellows for the like xxxvj.s.
Edmund Androws for seafishe . iiij.li. x.s. viij.d.
Edmund Androwes for freshe fishe . ix.li. xv.s. vij.d.
Henry Traforde and his fellows for there expences . . . xl.s.
John Arriot for the like . . ij.s. viij.d.
John Gye in rewarde . . . xiij.s. iiij.d.
Raufe Hoape for neccies . . ij.s. viij.d.
John Twiste and his fellows . . xxxvj.s.
John Acton for the like . . iiij.s.
Edmunde Androwes for seafishe . xxj.li. x.s.
Edmund Androws for fresh fishe . xiiij.li. xij.d.
Roger Smithe for expences . . viij.s.
Alexander Whitte for the like . . ij.s.
Roger Smithe for the like . . v.s.
Robert Morgan for neccies . . ij.s.
John Gye for the like . . iij.s.
John Arriot in rewarde . . . viij.s.



Fol. 5. John Fertlet for the like . . v.s.
John Whaplat and v. of his fellows in rewarde . . . . xij.s.
George Boyden for neccies . . xvj.s.
Thomas Balle for the like . . xxx.s.
Garrett Tonson for the like . . iiij.s.
John Whaplatt for necessaries . viij.s.
Richard Mason for the like . . iij.s.
John Hilton for bordewages . . vj.s. iiij.d.
Edmund Androws for seafishe . xix.li. xvij.s.
Mr. Chamberlayne's svaunte for lamprey pyes . . . . xxxvj.s.
Edmund Androws for fresh fishe . vij.li. xs.
Percivall Smallpage in rewarde . lxvj.s. viij.d.
George Boiden for neccies . . vj.s. viij.d.
Robert Morgan and his fellows for bordewages . . . lxxiij.s. xj.d.
Thomas Walden for the like . . ij.s. viij.d.
Thomas Walden in rewarde . . iij.s.
Edmund Androws for seafishe . xiij.li. xj.s. viij.d.
Edmund Androws for freshfishe . xij.s.
Fraunces Pope for lyveries . . xxvj.s. ix.d.
Elizabeth Burton for shirtts . . xxix.s. xd.
John Twiste and his fellows for bordewages . . . . xxxix.s.
John Hilton for the like . . vj.s. iiij.d.
Roger Smithe for expenses . . vij.s. iiij.d.
John Arriot for the like . . xviij.d.
Mr. Verneys svaunte in rewarde . ij.s. vj.d.

John Whaplat and his fellows for necessaries . . . . vij.s.
John Tailor for making of the torne-broches coates . . . ix.s. ij.d.
George Boiden for neccies . . iiij.s. iiij.d.
Elizabeth Burton for making of shirtes iij.s. iiij.d.
Edmund Androwes for seafishe . xj.li. xiiij.s. x.d.
Edmund Androwes for fresh fishe . xxij.s.
John Hilton for bordewages . . vj.s. vj.d.
John Linger for his bordewages . xxx.s.
Richard Hampden for his expenses . xxvj.s. viij.d.
Richard Hampdens svaunte in rewarde iij.s. iiij.d.
John Hilton for bordewages . . vj.s. vj.d.
Edmund Androws for seafishe . vj.li. iiij.s. vj.d.
To him for freshfishe . . . xliiij.s. x.d.
Henry Traiforde for his expences . x.s. x.d.
To him for carriage of veneson . lxvj.s. vj.d.
John Twiste for neccies . . iij.s. viij.d.
John Hilton for bordewages . . vj.s. vj.d.



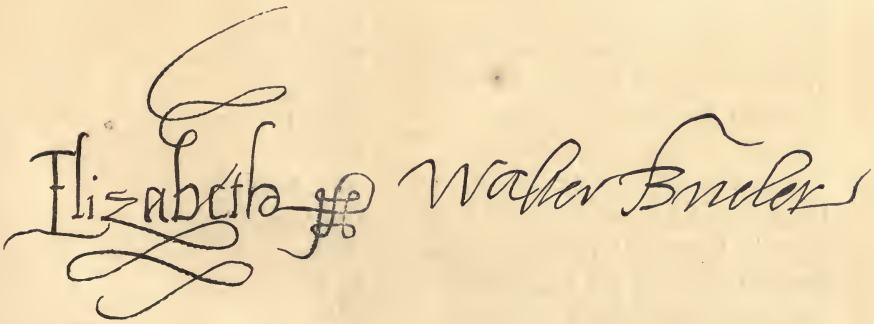
Fol. 5. *b.*

Edmunde Androws for seafishe	vij.ℓi. x.ſ.
To him for freshefishe	vij.ſ. iiij.d.
Willm Worseley in rewarde	iiij.ſ. vj.d.
Henry Traiforde for rewarde to sondrie persons	xlj.ſ.
To him for the carriage of veneson	xxx.ſ. viij.d.
Richard Mason and his fellows for neccies	x.ſ.
Johan Hilton for her bordewages	vj.ſ. iiij.d.
Garrat Jonson for shoes	iij.ſ.
John Fowler for drawing of water	x.ſ. iiij.d.
To him for the like	x.ſ. iiij.d.
To him againe	x.ſ.
George Boiden for neccies	vj.ſ. viij.d.
To him for the like	xiiij.ſ.
To him againe for neccies	v.ſ. iiij.d.
Edmonde Androwes for seafishe	ix.ℓi. xviij.ſ. xd.
To him for freshfishe	xliij.ſ. ij.d.
	cc.lix.ℓi. xj.ſ.

THACATRYE.

Thomas Burchall for veales	viij.ℓi. vj.ſ. viij.d.
Hugh Carliel for vj.lb. of larde	vj.s.
Thomas Burchall for diverse fugacons	xxxij.s. vj.d.
John Taillor for making of haie at Enfelde	xj.ℓi. xij.s. vj.d. ob.
Thoms Shepey for cxx. muttons	xxx.ℓi.

Thomas Burchall for veales . . viij.li. xiij.s. iiij.d.
To him for fugacons . . . xxvj.s. x.d.
Richard Appes for carriage of stoare . v.s. viij.d.
Edmund Androws for salte . . xiij.s. iiij.d.
Willm West for iiij.xx muttons . xx.li.
Thomas Burchall for veales . . xiiij.li. xviij.s. iiij.d.
To him for fugacons . . . xxxv.s. viij.d.
Edmund Androwes for salte . . vj.s. viij.d.
Henry Traiford for ij. hogges of bacon xx.s.
Thomas Burchall for one bore . xxx.s.
Thomas Andrie for veales . . xv.li. v.s. viij.d.
Thomas Burchall for fugacons . xxvij.s. viij.d.
Richard Appes for carr. of stoare . xvij.s.
Edmund Androwes for store . . liij.s. iiij.d.
Henry Millwood for iiij.xx iiij. muttons xxxij.li. xvj.d.
Thomas Burchall for veale and lambe . xviij.li. viij.s. viij.d.
To him for fugacons . . . iiij.li. vij.s. viij.d.
Richard Appes for carriage of stoare . v.s. viij.d.
Nichas Hecker for ix.c di of coddes . xxxij.li. ix.s. ij.d.

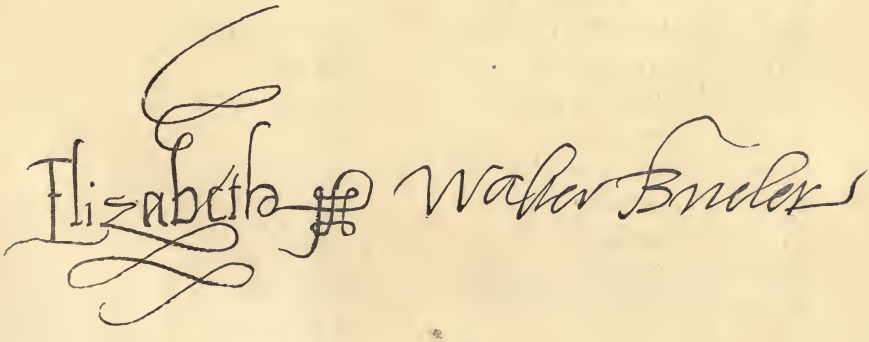


Fol. 6. Thomas Burchall for veale and lambe iiij.li. xj.s. viij.d.
William Adams for expenses . . lxx.s.
Thomas Burchall for the like . . xiiij.s. iiij.d.
Edmond Androws for Lenten stoare . xvij.li. vij.s. ij.d.
John Waters for xx. muttons . . vij.li. x.s.
Thomas Burchall for veale . . xij.li. xix.s. vj.d.
To him for fugacons . . . xxxj.s. vj.d.
Richard Appes for carriage of store . xj.s. iiij.d.
Edmund Androws for dyverse stores . viij.li. xj.s. x.d.
Thomas Burchall for veales . . xx.li. vj.s. iij.d.
To him for diverse allowaunces . xj.s.
Henry Traiford and his fellows for expences . . . . lxix.s. iij.d.
Richard Appes for carriage of store . v.s. viij.d.
Thomas Burchall for lx. oxen . . clx.li.
To him for lvj. muttons . . xij.li. iij.s. vj.d.
To him for veales . . . xx.li. ix.s. vj.d.
Henrie Traiforde and his fellows . vj.li. vi.s. viij.d.
Richard Appes for carr: of store . v.s. viij.d.
George Boiden for salte . . iiij.s. viij.d.
Thomas Burchall for fugacons . xiij.s.
Edmund Androwes for salte . . xxxviij.s.
Thomas Burchall for xx. muttons . iiij.li.
Thomas Andrye for veales . . xiij.li. iiij.d.
Thomas Burchall for allowaunces . xliij.s. viij.d.
Willm Carter for carriage of store . iiij.s. vj.d.
Edmund Androwes for salte . . xxxviij.s.
Thomas Awdrie for iiij. beafe . . xlij.s.
Willm Boyden for xx. muttons . lxxiij.s. iiij.d.
Roger Lee for x. muttons . . xliij.s. iiij.d.
Thomas Burchall for xxxij. veales . viij.li.
Richard Paynnes for xij.lb larde . xij.s.
Thomas Burchall for allowaunces . vij.s.
John Cockes for carriage of store . iiij.s. vj.d.

Edmund Androwes for salte .	. xxvj.s. iiij.d.
Willm Gibbes for allowaunces	. xxj.d.
John Smith for carr: of store	. iiij.s. iiij.d.
Thomas Burchall and his fellows for allowauncies . .	. xviij.s. iiij.d.
Henry Ley for pasture hired .	. xl.s.
Thomas Burchall for veales .	. viij.li. iij.s. x.d.
Androwe Stokes for lxvj. muttons	. xiij.li. iiij.s.
Thomas Parrye for c. muttons	. xx.li.
Thomas Andrye for pasture hired	. xx.s.
William Palmer for the like .	. xxij.s. vj.d.
	Dlxxix.li. iiij.s. xj.d. ob.

THE PULTRY.

Roger Duffelde for pultrie stuffe	. xxj.li. xvj.d.
To him for the carriage of the same	. xlj.s. iiij.d.
Jaspar Stafford for pultrie .	. l.s. v.d.
Robert Nightingale for like .	. xxiiij.li. xiiij.s. j.d.

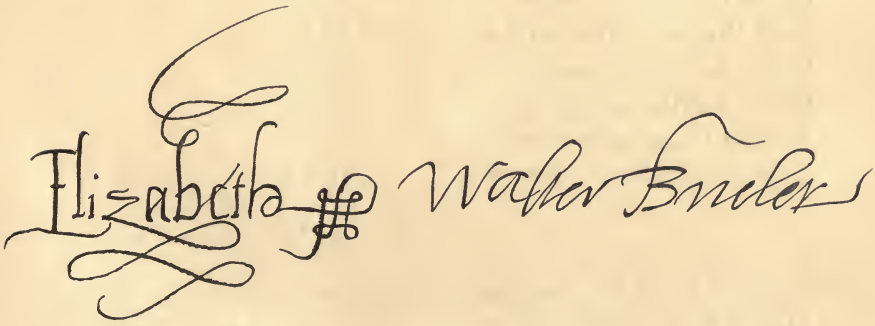


Fol. 6. *b.* To him for carriage . . . lvj.s.
Roger Suffelde for pultrie stuffe . xx.li. xix.s. xj.d.
To him for the carriage . . xl.s.
Richard Brice for connyes . . x.s.
Roger Smithe for pultrie stuffe . viij.s. v.d.
Jaspar Stafford for the like . . iiij.li. vij.s. vj.d.
Roger Suffelde for the like . . xxi.li. xiiij.s. xj.d.
To him for murrens . . . xv.s. viij.d.
To him for carriage . . . xlj.s. iiij.d.
To him for bareley . . . xxij.s. iiij.d.
John Wrighte for pultrie . . lxxix.s. viij.d.
Robert Nightingale for like . . xxijli.. xv.s. viij.d.
Jaspar Stafford for the like . . iiij.li. v.s. iiij.d.
Roger Suffelde for the like . . vj.li. xiij.s.
Robert Nightingale for carriage . lxij.s.
Jaspar Stafforde for pultrie . . xlviij.s. ij.d.
Robert Nightingale for the like . xij.li. xij.s. v.d.
To him for carriage . . . lxij.s.
Robert Nightingale for pultrie . . xv.li. xvj.s. x.d.
Jaspar Stafford for the like . . ix.s. vij.d. ob.
Robert Nightingale for carriage . lx.s.
Jaspar Stafford for bareley . . x.s.
Robert Nightingale for pultrie . xix.li. vij.s. iij.d.
To him for carriage . . . lxij.s.
Robt Nightingale for pultrie . . xxiij.li. iiij.s.
To him for carriage . . . lx.s.
Jaspar Stafford for bareley . . xv.s.
Robt Nightingale for pultrie . . xxv.li. ij.d.
To him for carriage . . . lxijs.
Robert Nightingale for pultrie . xix.li. xij.s. iij.d. ob.
To him for carriage . . . lxij.s.

Richard Tappenaile for pultrie	. xiij.s. iiij.d.
Robt Nightingale for pultrie	. xx.li. viij.d ob.
To him for carriage	. lx.s.
Jasp Stafford for neccies	. xv.s.
To him for bareley	. xij.s. viij.d.
	CCCxj.li. v.s. iiij.d. ob.

THE SQUILLERIE.

Richard Bryce for xxiij. loades of coales	vj. li. vj.s. vj.d.
John Lincolne for herbes	. x.s.
John Lincolne for pewter vessell	. xxxv.s. iiij.d.
To him for mending of pewter vessell	. vj.s. viij.d.
To him for necessaries	. x.li. viij.s. x.d.
Richard Brice for xxij. lodes of coales	vj.li. xij.d.
John Lincoln for herbes	. ix.s. vj.d.
Willm Adamson for neccies	. iij.s.
Richard Brice for xxiij. loades of coales	vj.li. v.s. x.d.



Fol. 7. John Lincoln for herbes . . x.s. ix.d.
To him for pewter vessell . . vj.li. xi.s. viij.d.
To him for necc̃ies . . . iij.s. x.d.
To him for expenses . . . vj.s. vj.d.
Richard Brice for xxv. lodes of coales vij.li. xij.s.
John Heriott for herbes . . viij.s. iij.d.
John Lincoln for necc̃ies . . iiij.s. viij.d.
Richard Brice for xxj. loades of coales Cxix.s. x.d. ob̃.
John Lincoln for herbes . . vij.s. iij.d.
Richard Brice for xvij. lodes of coales iiij.li. xvij.s. ob̃.
John Lincoln for herbes . . vj.s. iij.d.
John Lincolne for pewter vessell . vj.li.
Richard Brice for coalles . . Cxvj.s. x.d.
John Lincoln for herbes . . v.s.
To him for necc̃ies . . . vj.s. iiij.d.
Richard Brice for coales . . lxxvij.s.
John Winckfelde for herbes . . viij.s. xj.d.
Richard Brice for coales . . xlij.s. viij.d.
John Winckfelde for herbes . . x.s.
John Winckfelde for expenc̃e . . ij.s.
John Winckfelde for herbes . . vij.s.
Oliver Lowthe for coales . . Cxv.s.
John Winckfelde for herbes . . vij.s.
Oliver Lowthe for coales . . xlv.s.
Oliver Lowthe for the like . . lxij.s.
Thomas Chamber for the like . lxij.s.
John Winckfelde for herbes . . xj.s. v.d.

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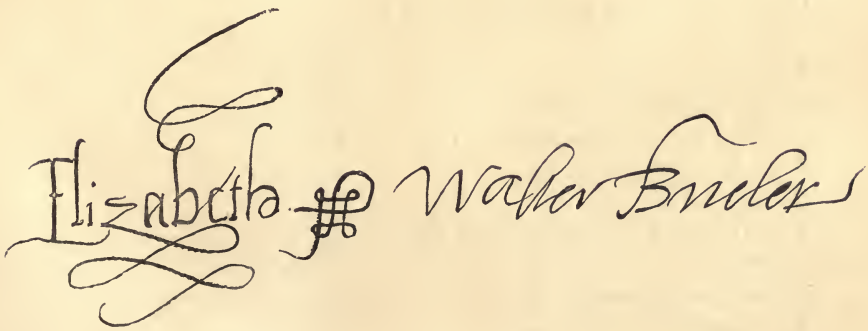
iiij^{xx}.xiiijli. xij.s. xjd.

There is to be deducted suche somes of mony as the said Master Parrye hathe disburced for the provic'on and expences of the householde within thoffices.

THE SAWCERYE.

Thomas Stevens for sawce .	. xxix.ʂ. viij.đ.
To him for the like . .	. xxix.ʂ.
Thomas Stevens for the like sawce	. xxxij.ʂ. ij.đ.
Hughe Carlell for herbes .	. vij.ʂ. viij.đ.
Thom̄s Stevens for sawce .	. xxiij.ʂ. x.đ.
Thom̄s Stevens for sawce .	. xxviij.ʂ.
Thomas Stevens for the like .	. xxxvij.ʂ. viij.đ.
Hugh Carlell for herbes .	. vij.ʂ. j.đ.
Thomas Stevens for sawce .	. xxxvij.ʂ. ij.đ.
Thomas Stevens for the like .	. xxxv.ʂ.
Thomas Stevens for sawce .	. lv.ʂ. viij.đ.
Hugh Carlell for herbes .	. vij.ʂ. vij.đ.
To him for expences . .	. ij.ʂ.
Tho. Stevens for sawce .	. xiij.ʂ. ij.đ.
Hughe Carlell for herbes .	. vij.ʂ. vj.đ.
Thomas Stevens for sawce .	. xliiij.ʂ.
To him for the like . .	. xxvj.ʂ.
	xxi.ℓi. iij.ʂ. ij.đ.



THE WOODYARD.

Fol. 7. b. John Lyngarde for tallewoodde . viii.li. xiij.s. iiij.d.
To him for russhes . . . xxxiij.s.
To him for neccies . . . iij.s. viij.d.
John Lingard for tallewoodde and fagottꝭ . . . . ix.li. xvij.s. iiij.d.
To him for rushes . . . xxxiij.s.
John Lingard for expencꝭ . . iiij.s. viij.d.
Wiłłm Gibbes for tallewoodde and fagottꝭ . . . . iiij.li. xviij.s.
To him for rushes . . . xliiij.s.
To him for laborars hired . . vs. ijd.
John Lingard for fagotꝭ and tallewoodde vij.li. xvij.s.
To him for rushes . . . xliiij.s. viij.d.
To him for laborars hired . . iij.s. iiij.d.
Wiłłm Gibbes for tallwood and fagotꝭ viij.li. vj.s. vj.d.
To him for rushes . . . xxv.s. viij.d.
Wiłłm Gibbes for tallewoodde and fagottꝭ . . . . Cviij.s. ix.d.
To him for rushes . . . lxxij.s. iiij.d.
Wiłłm Gibbes for tallewood and faggottes . . . . xi.li. iiij.s. iij.d.
To him for rushes . . . xlviij.s.
Wiłłm Gibbes for tallewoodde and fagottꝭ . . . . lxvij.s. ij.d.
To him for rushes . . . xlvj.s.
Wiłłm Gibbes for rushes . . lxxv.s.
John Lingarde for fagottꝭ . . lj.s. viij.d.
John Lingard for fagotꝭ . . xlvj.s. viij.d.
To him for rushes . . . viij.s.
John Lingard for tallewoodde and fagottꝭ . . . . Cv.s. viij.d.
To him for expences . . . ij.s.
John Lingard for neccies . . vij.s.

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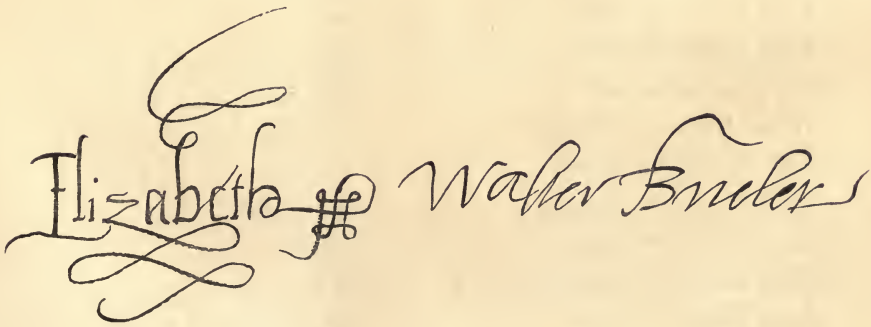
iiij^{xx}.xij.li. xj.s. x.d.

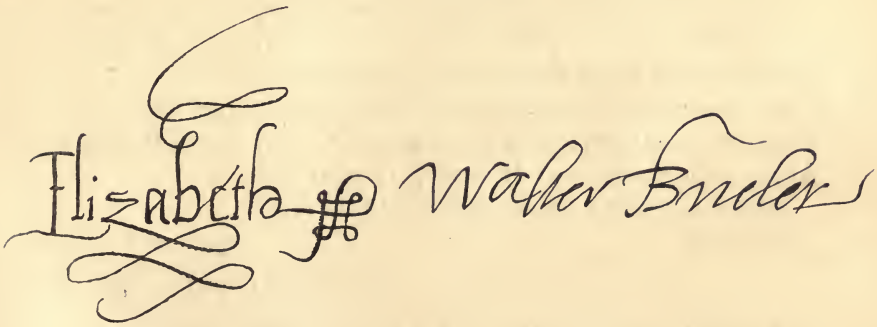
THE STABLE.

John Foster for littor . .	xiij.s.
John Tailor for making of lx. loade of haye . . .	x.li. xiij.s. v.d.
John Woodhouse for expences	xxxj.s.
Willm Jackson for horsbred .	xij.s.
Willm Russell for his expence	iij.s. iiij.d.
John Twiste for expences .	xviij.s. vij.d.
John Foster for littor .	v.s.
John Sawior for ottes .	viij.s.
Willm Jackson for horsbredde	xiij.s.
John Tailor for ottes . .	l.s.
Willm Russell for expences .	vj.s. viij.d.
Robert Morgan for like .	ij.s. ij.d.
Henry Bratte for showing .	viij.s. ij.d.
John Foster for littor .	vj.s. viij.d.
Thoms Stille for ottes .	xiij.s. iiij.d.
John Taillor for the like .	xxxv.s. v.d.
Thoms Rondle for neccies .	ix.li. xviij.s. viij.d.
John Tailor for littor .	x.s.
Thoms Stille for ottes .	xv.s.



Fol. 8. John Tailor for the like . . xxxv.s. v.d.
John Twiste for expences . . v.s. iiij.d.
John Waterman for shoing . . xij.s. vj.d.
John Foster for littor . . . v.s.
John Tailor for the like . . xv.s.
John Ley for ottes . . . xxiij.s. iiij.d.
John Tailor for the like . . xxxiij.s. viij.d.
Robt Worris for expences . . xij.s.
John Colson for showing . . vij.s. xj.d.
John Browne for the like . . iiij.s.
John Nashe for littor . . . v.s.
John Tailor for like . . . xl.s.
To him for the like . . . x.s.
W^m^ Bigge for otes . . . xx.s.
W^m^ Jackson for horsbred . . vj.s.
John Tailor for otes . . . lvij.s. vj.d.
John Page for neccies . . xiij.s. iiij.d.
Thomas Rundle for the like . . xxxj.s. ij.d.
John Tailor for the like . . xxxv.s. vij.d.
William Russell for expences . . xxxvj.s. iiij.d.
John Tailor for litter . . . viij.s.
John Foster for like . . . v.s.
John Tailor for otes . . . xl.s. vj.d.
Willm Bigge for the like . . xiij.s. iiij.d.
John Tailor for neccies . . ij.s. xid.
John Colson for shoing . . iij.s. viij.d.
John Tailor for littor . . . viij.s.
John Foster for the like . . iij.s.
John Tailor for ottes . . . xlvj.s. xj.d. ob. q^a^.

Willm Bigge for the like .	. xiij.s.
John Tailor for neccies .	. iiij.s ij.d.
Thoms Gillam for the like .	. xl.s.
John Foster for ottes .	. xvj.s. iiij.d.
Thoms Rundle for neccies .	. xviij.s. x.d.
John Twiste for expence .	. vj.s.
Brian Ferrer for shoyng .	. ix.s.
John Newman for haye .	. iiij.li.
Oliver Lowthe for littor .	. iij.s. iiij.d.
Willm Chamber for ottes .	. x.s.
John Tailor for the like .	. xx.s. ij.d.
Robert Norris for ottes .	. vij.s. vj.d.
John Twist for expences .	. xix.s. viij.d.
Robt Norris for the like .	. vij.s.
Robt Waterman for showing .	. xvij.s.



Fol. 8. *b.* William Chamber for xij. bȝ of ottes . vj.ſ.
Humfrey Broke for one gelding . Cxiij.ſ. iiij.d.
Roƀt Norris and his fellows for horsgrasse xvi.ſ.
Mr. Connye for ij. geldinge . . xij.ƚi. ix.ſ. vj.d.
Roƀt Morgan for expences . . ij.ſ.
To him for the like . . . ij.ſ.
Robert Morgan for expences . . iiij.ſ.

iiij.^{xx}xiij.ƚi. viij.ſ. viij.d. oƀ. q.

WAGES, LYVERIES, AND ALMES.

The wages of the housholde servaunte for one quarter of a yere ended the laste of December, anno R.R. Edwardi Sexti quarto, amounteth to iiij^{xx}.ij.ƚi. xvij.ſ. viij.d.

The wages of the said servaunts at the feaste of thanunciacion of our Ladie amounteth to . lxxix.ƚi. ij.d.

The wages of Midsomer quarter amounteth to lxxviij.ƚi. xix.ſ. iiij.d. oƀ.

The wages of the said servaunte dew at the feaste of Sainte Mighell tharchangell, anno quinto, amount to . . . . . iiij^{xx}.j.ƚi. x.d.

The lyveries of velvet coates for xiij. gentlemen, at xl.ſ. the coate, amounteth to the some of . xxvj.ƚi.

The lyveries of the yeomen amounte to . . lxxviij.ƚi. xviij.ſ.

Also, yeven in allmes to dyverse pore men and wemen at sondrie times, as appereth by severall billes . . . . . vij.ƚi. xv.ſ. viij.d.

iiij.Cxxxiiij.ƚi. xj.ſ. viij.d. oƀ.

THE CH^{a}MBER AND ROBES.—NEW YEAR'S GIFTS.—REWARDS TO OFFICERS, MUSICIANS, SERVANTS, &c.

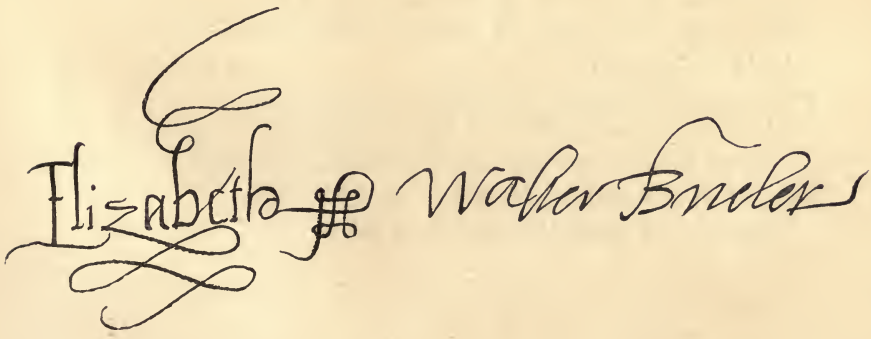
Payd to John Ronyon, yeoman of the warderobe, the xviijth of October, for iiij^{or} yardes of fustean for bodies of iiij^{or} gownes, as by warraunt appeareth . . . . . iiijſ. iiij.d.

Paid the xiiij.th of October to Charles, Wiłłm Russell's ꝑvaunte, for making a paier of upperbodies for her grace, xij.d., lyning xv.d., silke for the same iiij.d. In the hole, as by warraunt appeareth . . . . ij.s. viij.d.

Paid to Anthony Brisquet by thandes of John Ronion the xxix.th of October, for a pece of wroughte velvet, conteyning xx. yardes and a halfe and a halfe quarter, at xxvijs. iiij.d. the yarde, xxviij.li. vij.s. ij.d. To him for vij. yardes of blacke velvet, at xxx.s. the yarde, x.li. x.s. More for iij. quarters of the same for a paier of sleeves, xxij.s. vj.d. One yarde di and halfe a quarter of the same velvet for ij. frenche hodes, xlviij.s. ix.d. And halfe a yarde and di qr̃ter of the same velvet for partlett℮, xviij.s. ix.d. In all . . . xliij.li. vij.s. ij.d.

Paid the furst of November to Mres. Asheley for vj. ellnes of hollande for towelles, xij.s. Threde, xvj.d., and for other necc̃ies, ij.s. vj.d. In all, as by a warrt of the same appereth . xv.s. x.d.

Paid to Raufe Hope the viij.th of November for lyning of her grace's kirtles, ix.s. viij.d. And to Wm. Hustwheate, pewterar, for ij. Basons



Fol. 9. with collors at v.s. the pece, x.s. Twoe stillitories at xvj.s. the pece, xxxij.s. And for a great flaggon bottell of iij. quartes and one smalle bottell of a quarte, ix.s. iiij.d. In all, as by warraunte appereth . . . . lxj.s.

Paid to M^res^ Asheley the ix^th^ of the same, for lynnen clothe and other neccies for her grace's use, as by warr appereth . . . iiij.s.

Paid to Mistres Slannyng the viij^th^ of Januarye for certen stuffe for her Grace's person, as by warraunte appereth . . . xvij.li. v.s.

Paid to her for the supplusage of a great bille delivered her grace by John Ronion in December, as by warr appereth the vij^th^ of Januarye iiij.li.

Paid to her more the same daye by the like warrant xl.s. viij.d.

Paid to Raufe Hoape for xlv. yardes of buckeram at ix.d. the yarde, xxxiii.s. ix.d.; one halfe dozen of brusshes at xij.d. the pece, vj.s.; sixe rubbing brusshes, xij.d.; threde and silke, vj.s. viij.d.; lynnen clothe for lyning, x.d.; carriage of the said stuffe, xij.d. In th'ole . xlix.s. iij.d.

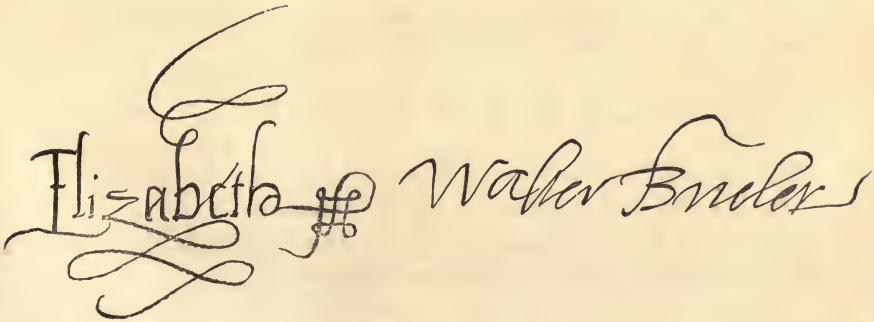
Paid to Mistres Asheley the iij.^de^ of February, as mony given in rewarde to Johis, and neccies for her grace's use, as by warraunte appereth xlv.s. ij.d.

Paide to Raufe Hope the xiij.^th^ of the same for ij. yardes and a q^r^ter of cotton, vij.s. vj.d.; one yarde and a halfe of fustean, xvj.d. In thole as appereth . . . . ix.s. vj.d.

Paid more to Mistres Slannyng by thandes of Mistres Asheley the furst of Aprill, for certen damask and crimson saten, as by warr appereth viij.li. xv.s. iij.d.

Paid to M^res^ Asheley, the xiiij.^th^ of Ap^ill^, for crippons and wrought velvet upon satten . lxxiiij.s. viij.d.

Paid the same daye to Thomas Alesope for spices to my ladies grace owne vse . . vj.li. xj.s. iiij.d.
Paid to my Ladie Fortescue for cawles and lynnen cloth . . . . . xxij.s. iiij.d.
Paid to Mistres Asheley for diverse neccies bought by her for my Ladies grace . . xxj.s. iiij.d.
Paid to John Spithonius, the xvij.th of Maye, for bokes, and to Mr. Allin for a bible . xxvij.s. iiij.d.
Paid to Edmunde Allin for a bible . . xx.s.
Paid to Elizabeth Slannyng for velvete, silke, and other neccies, to her graces vse . . lxxix.li.
Paid to Warren, her graces tailor, for making diverse robes for her grace . . . xxi.li. x.s.
Paid to Katheryn Asheley, as appereth by warrant . . . . . vij.li. xv.s.
Paid to Raufe Hope for like, as by warraunt appeth . . . . . xxv.s.
Paid in rewarde the iij.de of October to one that brought Cignete, and to a pore woman that came out of Irelond . . . . xxxij.s.



Fol. 9. *b.* Paid in rewarde the xxiiijth of the same to Mr. Leaver for the Skollars of Cambridge, c.s. To one Walle for keping of a gelding for her grace, xiij.s. iiij.d. And to a messenger from the Kinges Councell, x.s. In thole . . vj.li. iij.s. iiij.d.

Paid the furst of November to M^{res} Asteley to give one which brought aples, ij.s.; the same day to Doctor Huycke, xl.s.; the iij^{de} daie of November, to a pore Skollar of Oxforde, xxx.s. In thole as by warr̃ appeth . . . lxxij.s.

Paid the thirde of the same to the Kepar of Herforde Gayle for fees of John Wingfelde beying in warde . . . . xiijs. iiij.d.

Paid the same daye to Mr. Dabscourte ꝰvaunte for bringing of x. oxen, v.s. And to Mr. Chamberlaynes servaunte the viij.th of the same for a redde deare, v.s. . . . x.s.

Paid the xxij.th of November to John Baptist in rewarde . . . . . lxxiiij.s. viij.d.

Paid to him more by like warraunte . . xxx.s.

Paid the viij.th of December to Wiłłm Russell in rewarde . . . . . xl.s.

Paid the ix.th of the same to Thom̃s Paine for charges in surveying . . . . lxvj.s. viij.d.

Paid the viij.th of the same to Mr. Rouce the preacher . . . . . xxx.s.

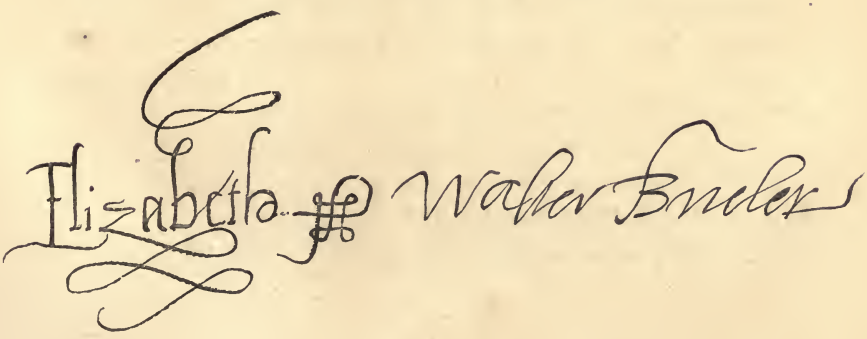
Paid the same daye to Mistres Und^{e}come in rewarde . . . . . x.s.

Paid the xiiij.th of the same to Blaunche Parrye, for her half yeres annitie C.s. and to Blaunche Qwrtnaye for the like, lxvj.s. viij.d. In all . viij.li. vj.s. viij.d.

Paid the furst of the same unto James Russell, by warrante dormaunte, as by the same appereth xx.s.

Paid the xxiiij.th of the same unto Thom̃s Cocke, by like warraunte . . . xv.s.

Paid the xv.th of the same unto Sr Raufe Rowlate
servante for bringing of twoe oxen and xx. muttons xx.s.
Paid to Raufe Hoope, in rewarde, in the moneth
of October, xv.s. To him the like in December,
xv.s. Richard Paine, in November, xv.s. John
Ronion, xv.s. Willm Allyn, xv.s.; and Robt.
Arden for Septembr, October, and November,
xlv.s. In thole as by warr appeth . . vj.li.
Paid the xiiij.th of December unto Olyver
Rowthe servaunte that brought a boare, ij.s.,
and to the poore, xij.d. . . . iij.s.
Paid to Mr. Walton servaunt, that brought
wilde fowle, as by warraunte appereth . x.s.
Paid the xiiij.th of December, at the Cristening
of Mres Pendrede childe, as by warraunte
dothe appere . . . . . l.s.
Paid the xviij.th of December, to one of the
Kinges servante, which broughte a Commission,
x.s.; the xix.th of the same to Richard Pigot,
xxx.s.; the xxiiij.th to Edward Bolloigne, liij.s.
iiij.d.; the xxvij.th at the Cristeninge of Mr.
Carie's childe, xl.s.; the xxviij.th to one that
broughte a cignet, xx.d.; the xxix.th to Lewes Wa-
ger, lxvj.s viij.d.; the last daye to John Bridges,
x.s. Given to the pore at the cristening of Mr.



Fol. 10. Norrice childe, iiij.ſ.; John Wingfelde, xxx.ſ.; and to John Ronion, iiij.ſ. iiijd. In thole as by warraunte appereth . . . xij.li. xſ.

Paid to John Warton in rewarde x.ſ., Richard Ball x.ſ., John Madoxe x.ſ., John Ballarde x.ſ., Hughe Carlell x.ſ., George Boiden x.ſ., John Arrat x.ſ., and James Russell x.ſ. In thole as by warr̃ appereth . . . . iiij.li.

Paid to Thom̃s Crococke, goldsmithe, the vijth of Januarye, for lxxiiij.oz. four pennye weight of guilt plate, at viij.ſ. viij.d. the ounce; bowght for Newyeres giftes . . . xxxij.li. iij.ſ. x.d.

Paid to John Roinon the furst of Januarye, for his expences to London, iiij.ſ.; and to John Warner, brewer, in rewarde, vj.ſ. viij.d. In all as by warraunte appereth . . x.s. viij.d.

Paid to diuerse noblemens ſvaunt℮, which browght Newyeres giftes the iiij.th of Januarie, viz., to Mr. Eglanbye servaunte, iij.ſ. iiij.; my Ladie Chekes ſvaunte, x.ſ.; my Ladie Oxfordes ſvaunte, xiij.ſ. iiij.d.; my Lorde Marques of Winchesters ſvaunte, xx.ſ.; Master Chauncelor of Thaugmentac̃ons servaunte, xx.ſ.; and my Lorde Privie Seales servaunte, xx.ſ. In all as by like warraunte appereth . . . . . iiij.li. vj.ſ. viij.d.

Paid to Mr. Whelar the viij.th of Januarye, for bringing of the Kinges Maiesties newyeres gifte in rewarde, as by warraunte appereth . iiij.li.

Paid to Mistres Morberye the xij.th of Januarye, in rewarde, as by warraunte appereth . liij.ſ. iiij.d.

Paid to Richard Pigott by waye of rewarde, xxj.s.; and to John Baptist for like, xj.s. In thole as appereth by warraunt of Mr. Chamberlaynes xxxij.s.

Paid to Robt. Arden for his expences, being sicke from the first day of November untill the last of Marche, as by warraunte appereth . xl.s.

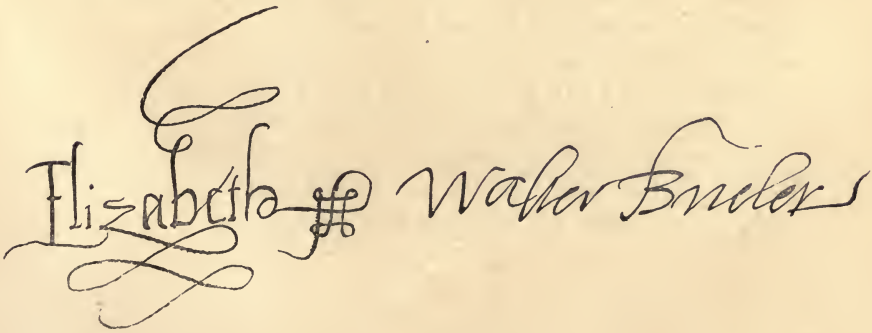
Paid to John Bridges for the like . . vj.s. viij.d.

Paid in rewarde to the Kinges Maiesties drom̄er and phiphe, the xiij.th of Februarye, xx.s.; Mr. Heywoodde, xxx.s.; and to Sebastian, towardꝭ the charge of the children with the carriage of the plaiers garmentꝭ, iiij.li. xix.s. In thole as by warraunte appereth . . vij.li. ix.s.

Paid to the Ladie Dennye, as by warr̃ appereth of the xij.th of Julye . . . C.li.

Paid to Fraunces Cornewallys, as by warrant appereth of the last of September . . xl.s.

Paid and allowed for the debte of Sr Henry Parker, Knight, late Chamberlayne, the laste of September, for his lyveries in anno quinto Regis E. sexti, viz., xviij. yardes murrey at ix.s. the yarde, viij.li. ij.s.; and for tharrerages of debte and prest of Roger Duffelde, purveor of pultrie, lxix.s. ix.d. In all . . . xj.l. xj.s. ix.d.



Fol. 10 *b.* James Russell, the xxjth of Marche, as by his wañr dormaunte appereth . . . xx.s.

Paid to Blaunche Parrie, the xxviijth of Marche, for one half yeres annuite ending the last of June, as by warraunte appereth . . C.s.

Paid to Thom̄s Cockes, the iiijth of Marche, as by warraunte dormaunte appereth . . xv.s.

Paid to Fraunces Cornwallis, in reward as by warraunte appereth the xxxth of Marche . xl.s.

Paid in rewarde unto sondrie persons at S. James, her grace then beyng there—viz. The Kinge fotemen, xl.s.; thunderkepar of S. James, x.s.; the gardiner, v.s.; to one Russell grome of the Kinges great chamber, x.s.; John Forman, x.s.; to the warderobe, xl.s.; the violans, xl.s.; a Frencheman that gave a boke to her grace, x.s.; the kepar of the parke gate of S. James, x.s.; Mr. Staunford's ꝺvaunte, xx.s.; the Lorde Russell's minstralls, x.s. In thole as by warrant appereth . . . ix.li. xv.s.

Paid to Blaunche Parrie, the vj.th of Marche, in rewarde towarde her horsmeat, as by warraunte appereth . . . . xxx.s.

Paid in rewarde to sondrie persons, viz. to one w^{ch} broughte fruet, ij.s.; my Ladie Popes servaunte, x.s.; my ladies grace owne person, by Hornbie, x.s.; to one of the Kinges Ma^{ts}. gentlemẽn usshers, xx.s.; my Ladie of Arrundells servaunt, xiij.s. iiij.d.; the bellringers at Barnet, x.s.; Mr. Carye, xx.s.; and to one that broughte pigeons, xij.d. In thole as by warraunte appereth in Marche . . iiij.li. vj.s. iiij.d.

Paid the iiij.th of Ap^{i}ll, to one which did take rabets, to another w^{ch} broughte pigeons, ij.s.;

Mr. Brockets ꝑvaunte, ij.ꝭ.; Simon Furniers, xx.ꝭ; a purcivñt, v.ꝭ.; Griffith Jones, x.ꝭ.; a pore man of Hempsted, iij.ꝭ. iiij.ḋ.; Thoms Hudbanke, xv.ꝭ. In all as by warrante appereth . . . . . lvij.ꝭ. iiij.ḋ.

Paid the xx.th of Apill, to Beamonde, the Kinge servaunte, for his boies whch plaied before her grace, x.ꝭ.; John Lingard, xx.ꝭ.; Mres. Carrye, at her departing from Hatfelde, iiij.ℓi. In thole as by waꝛr appereth . . . Cx ꝭ.

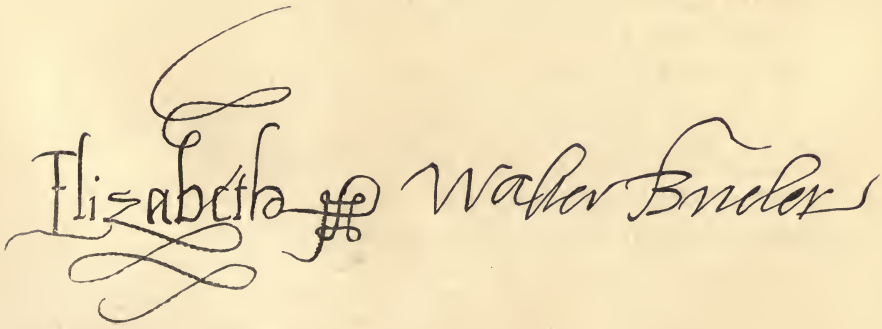
Paid to Johñes Spithonius, the iiij.th of Apill, in rewarde as by warraunte appereth . iiij.ℓi.

Paid the laste of June to James Russell, by her graces warraunt dormaunte . . . xx.ꝭ.

Paid to Thoms Cocke by like warraunte . xv.ꝭ.

Paid to Wiłłm Russell, the xix.th of Maye, xl.ꝭ.; to Anthony Wingfelde, xiij.ℓi. vj.ꝭ. viij.ḋ.; one wch boughte peasecoddes, the laste of Maye, vj.ꝭ. viij.ḋ. . . . . xv.ℓi. xiij.ꝭ. iiij.ḋ.

Paid and allowed the laste daye of Julie to John Newman, for his arrerages in provicon of wheat and malte, Cxlvj.ℓi. xv.s. vij.ḋ. ob; and likewise for the debt of Sr. Henry Parker, knighte, for xxxij. yardes of



Fol. 11. murrey clothe at viij.s. the yarde, xij.li. xvj.s.
In all . . . . Clix.li. xj.s. vij.d. ob.

Paid in rewarde to sondrie persons the xth of August, viz. to Farmor that plaied on the lute, xxx.s.; to Mr. Ashefelde servaunt, wth ij. prise oxen and x. muttons, xx.s.; More the harper, xxx.s.; to him that made her grace a table of wallnut tree, xliiijs. ix.d.; and to Mr. Cockes servaunte, w^{ch} brought her grace sturgeon, vj.s. viij.d. In thole, as by warraunte appereth vj.li. xj.s. v.d.

Paid in rewarde, the xiijth, xvth, and xviijth of August, to Master Lees servaunt, which brought her grace partrige, xx.d.; my Lorde Russells minstrells, xx.s.; Mr. Ronfords servante, ij.s.; Mr. Levetts servaunte for bringing of seapies, x.s.; to a pore woman w^{ch} brought vj. chickens and ij. capons, v.s. In all as by warr̃ appereth . . . . xxxviij.s. viij.d.

Paid the second of August to James Russell for his warraunte dormante . . . xx.s.

Paid to Tho. Cockes for the like warraunte . xv.s.

Paid in rewarde to Mrs. Stafford in Maye . liij.s. iiij.d.

Paid at the buriall of Thomas Hudbanke, the xviij. of Maye . . . . v.s.

Paid to my Lorde Braies servaunte and others, in July, as by warraunte appereth . . viij.li. iij.s. viijd.

Paid by like warraunt to my Ladie Lynneauxs servaunte and others, in June . . xxxv.s. viij.d.

Paid to Anthony Hille, by like warraunte . xx.s.

Sent to my Ladie Troye, as by warraunt appereth, with v.s. given to the Knightes Marshalls servaunt . . . . lxx.s.

Paid in rewarde to sondrie persons the vijth. of September . . . . vj.s. viij.d.

Paid by like warr̃ to the ij. sonnes of Alexander of the Kinges stable, and others . . xx.s. iiij.d.

Paid to Edmund Bollen, her graces kinsman, as by warraunt appereth, the xviij. of June . lxx.li.

Paid to George Boũen, in rewarde, as by warrant of the xxviijth. of October . . . xx.li.

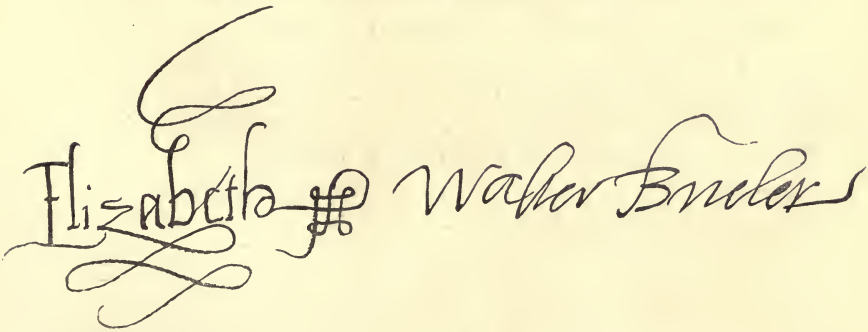
Allowed to Tho. Parrie and Katheryn Asheley, for vij. loades of haie, at iiij.s. the loade . xxvij.s.

Paid to John Ronion, in consideracõn of his ꝟvice, by warraunt of the xxviij.th of October . x.li.

Paid to Mr. Caundishe, the moneth of Julie, in parte of payment of one hundreth marke, wth other somes paid in the same warraunte . xlj.li. iiij.s. x.d.

Paide to Thomas Brierley, for bromes for her chamber, by bill of the laste of Februarye appereth . . . . . iij.s.

Thomas Brierley, for flowers and herbes by him provided, by bill of Mr. Chamb^{9}leyn's hande . v.s.

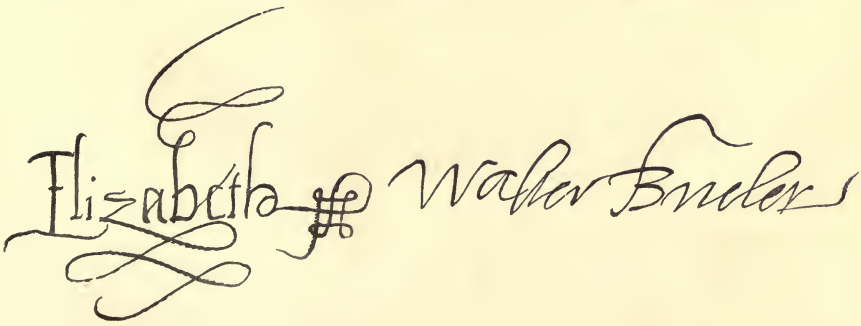


Fol. 11 *b.* Phillip Brace, for M[l].M[l]. hookes, xij.s.; coarde, ij.s.; and threede, xx.d. In all . . xv.s. viij.d.
John Baptist, for lute stringes for her grace . xvij.s.
Thomas Brierly, for flowers . . . ij.s.
John Bridges, for diverse neccies . . viij.s.
Thomas Brierly, for flowers in the moneth of July . . . . . xx.d.
John Ronion, for his expences riding to London iiij.s.
Willm Russell, for his expences in riding to the crestening of Mr. Chekes childe the space of vj. daies . . . . . xij.s.
Richard Smith, for his expences riding to London . . . . . v.s.
Robt Weldon, for his expences as by warr appereth . . . . . iij.s.
John Ronion, for his expencꝭ and by waye of rewarde . . . . . xx.s.
Thomas Brerelaye, for his expences in goyng afore to Durham Place by the space of iij. daies . . . . . ij.s.
Willm Darbie, for expences in riding for gentlemen when her grace went to the Courte . vj.s.
John Forster for the like . . . vj.s.
Launcelot Crue for the like . . . xj.s.
John Michell for the like . . . vj.s.
Nichas Snowe for the like . . . ix.s.
Thomas Brerelaye, for expences in Marche . ij.s.
John Forster, for expencꝭ aboute my (*sic*) her grace busines . . . . . iiij.s.
Richard Comerford for the like . . ij.s.
Nichas Snowe for the like . . . xiij.s. iiij.d.
Richard Smith, one of the gentlemen usshers, for like . . . . . xiij.s. iiij.d.
Launcelot Crue for the like . . . vj.s.

Nicħas Snowe for the like	xviij.ſ. viij.d.
Roƀt Morgan for the like	iiij.ſ.
John Bridges for expences	x.ſ.
Richard Smithe for the like	iij.ſ. iiij.d.
John Lingard for like	ix.ſ.
John Foster for like	xviij.d.
Roƀt Norris for the like	ij.ſ.
Launcelot Crue for the like	vj.ſ.
Roƀt Morgan for the like expences	xij.ſ.
Roƀt Weldon for his expences	ij.ſ.
Nicħas Snowe for the like	iij.ſ.
John Twist and his fellows for there expence	lxv.ſ.
Garrat Jonson, for xiij. paier of shoes in September	xiiij.ſ.
Thom̃s Brerely for neccies	iij.ſ.
Olyver Lowthe for the like	iij.ſ.
John Bartley for the like	xj.ſ. iiij.d.
	viijC.xlij.ħi. ij.ſ. v.d. ob.

Reparacions.

Anthony Hill and Edward Brocket for reparac̃ons at Hatfelde	xx.ſ.
Willm Votier for diverse lockes there	iiij.ħi. vij.ſ. viij.d.



Fol. 12. Thomas Glasiar for glasing there . . iij.s.
Oliver Clappam for reparacons there . . xj.s. iij.d.
William Underwoodde for reparacons at Hatfelde viij.s.
Willm Hudson for the like . . . xxxiij.s.
William Underwood for reparacons at Hatfelde xj.s.
Thomas Dardꝭ and his fellows for the like . xxv.s. iiij.d.
John Norris for like . . . . v.s.
John Carpenter for reparacons at Hatfelde . iiij.s. v.d.
Thomas Madoxe for like at Enfelde . . xx.s.
Willm Hoopewood for reparacons at Durham place . . . . . lxxvij.s. viij.d.
Willm Underwood for the like at Hatfelde . iiij.s. vij.d.
Willm Ellms for reparacons at Hatfelde . ij.s. viij.d.
Richard Brice for reparacons at Hatfelde . xix.s.
John Swinborne and his fellows for repacons there xxix.s. iij.d.
John Nashe for the like . . . xx.d.
Richard Brice for the like . . . ix.s.
Willm Votior for the like . . . vij.li.
John Dodge for glasing at Assheredge . . lvj.s. j.d. ob.
Richard Brice for the like at Hatfelde . . xiij.s.
John Wingfelde for one loade tile at Hatfelde . ix.s.
Olyver Lowthe for repacons at Assheredge . lxix.s.
Richard Brice for repacons at Hatfelde . iiij.li. xvij.s. ij.d.
Olyver Clappam for the like . . . lxxviij.s.

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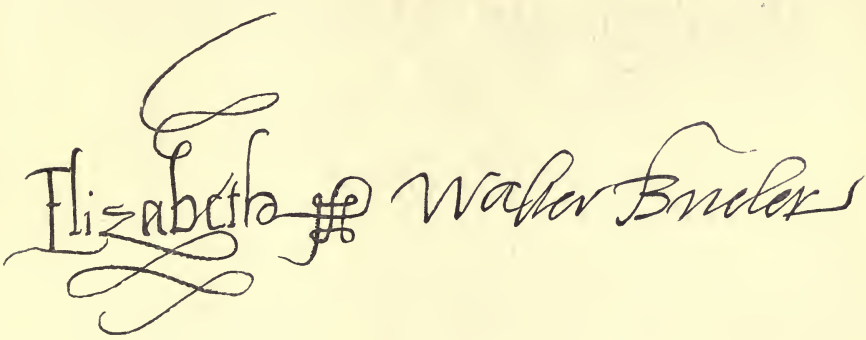
xlij.li. xiiij.s. ix.d. ob.

* Sm̃ª Totall of all the paymᵗˢ and delyverie of money, as well by her graces owne and other officers billes, as also redie money delyvered in prest and paid by debenters for the provicon of housholde within the tyme of this accompte, iij.M¹. Dc. xxixˡⁱ. xviijˢ. viij.đ. ob̃. qᵇª

Videlīt,

Sollucons by debenters, M¹M¹. vijC. liiij.li. vij.đ. qᵇ.

Sollucons by warrauntę, viijC.lxxv.li. xviij.s̃. jđ. ob̃.

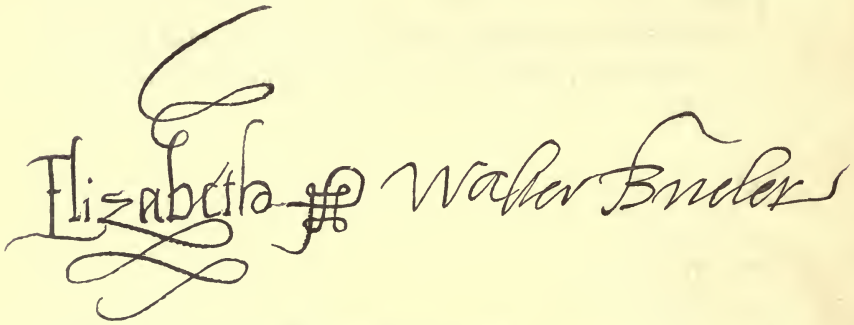


* The initial S is accompanied by a figure of DOLOR, a naked man seated on a rock tearing his hair; in the background a ship wrecked: and below is this line—

AFFLIGIT MENTEM FRUSTRA DOLOR OSSAQ' RODIT.

Fol. 12 *b.* *There Remayneth in sondrie provičons the furst day of October, Anno Sexto Regis predicti, as by a boke of parcelles therof made at large appereth; As well with certen money delyvered to diverse persons in prest for the provicion of the Housholde, who have not yet accompted for the same; As also for redie money delyvered to the coaffers, M^{l}.viij^{c}.lij.li. ij.s. viij.d. dī q^{a} iij^{tia} pars q^{a}.

Whereof—



Fol. 13. In provičon—CCiiij^{xx}. ix.li. xj.s. iij.d. ob.

The Bakehouse . .	. xxix.li. xvj.s. ix.d. ob.
The Buttrie and Cellar	. xxxiij.li. xv.s. viij.d.
The Spicerie and Chūndrye	. xix.li. x.s. vj.d.
The Kechen and Acatrie	. Clxxj.li. xij.s. xd.
The Squillerye . .	. xiiij.li. xvij.s. iiij.d.
The Salcerie . .	. viij.s. v.d.
The Woodyarde . .	. xiiij.li. xv.s. x.d.
The Stable . . .	. iiij.li. xiiij.s.

In prest—lv.li. xj.s. iiij.d. videlīt, in thandes of—

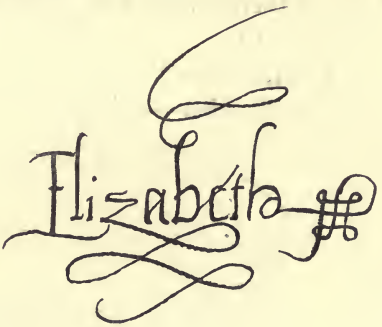
Richard Brice . .	. xj.li. xiij.s. x.d.
Raufe Hoape . .	. xx.s.
John Hopkins . .	. xl.li.
Anthony Hille . .	. lvij.s. vj.d.

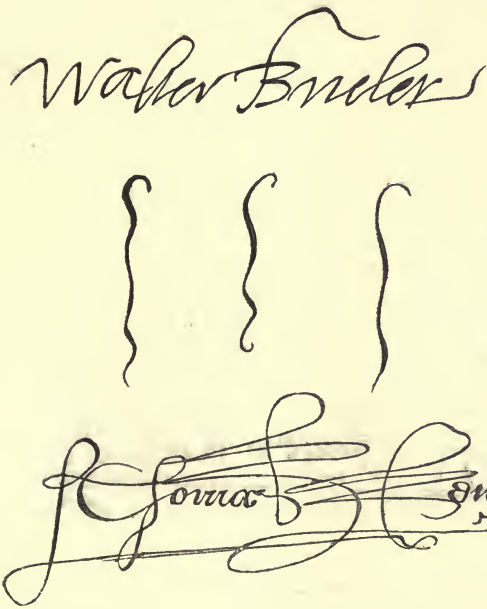
* The initial T is that of which a facsimile is engraved.

NATVRA
CLEGHORN
CVNCTA FOVĒS LAPSA IN STAVRO PERITVRA REDVCO

In redie mony—M^{l}.DVIJ.ħi. oƀ dĩ q$_{ƀ}^{a}$. iij.^{cia} pars q$_{ƀ}^{a}$, whiche some of one thousande five hundred seven poundes one halfe pennye halfe farthing and the third parte of a farthing, the said Mr. Parrie hathe delyvered to her graces owne handes upon the determinac̃on of this his accompte.

Q. Eq$_{3}$.





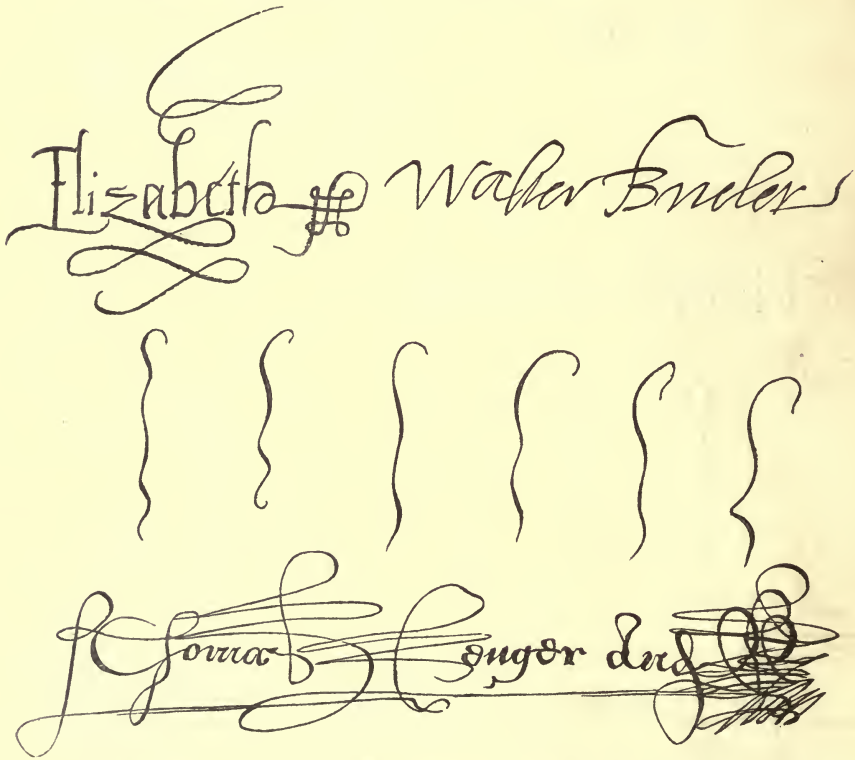
Fol. 13 *b.*

* And so thexpences of the House doe amounte unto for this yere to the some of iijM.ixC.xxxviij.li. xviij.s. vij.d.

There is to be deducted for the hides, felles, and intrales of the cattall provided, with certen vendicons, as before in the charge appereth, CCvij.li. iij.s. viij.d. ob.

† And so there is clerely expended iijM.vijC.xxvj.li. xiiij.s. x.d. ob., videlit, In

The House—M[l].M[l].viijC.l.li. xvj.s. ix.d.
The Chamber—viijC.lxxv.li. xviij.s. j.d. ob.



* This A has the figure of Temperance, as engraved in the annexed facsimile.

† And this a figure of Justice reclining, her sword and scales broken, without any inscription. This is engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory.

TEMPERANCE

THE REQUEST AND SUITE

OF A

TRUE-HEARTED ENGLISHMAN.

WRITTEN BY

WILLIAM CHOLMELEY,
LONDYNER,

IN THE YEAR 1553.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.

IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FACULTY OF ADVOCATES OF EDINBURGH,

BY

W. J. THOMS, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LIII.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following curious Tractate will, it is believed, be found of considerable interest, not only from the peculiar doctrines of political economy advanced by the writer, and from the arguments by which he endeavours to establish his views, but also from the picture which he exhibits of our commercial relations with the great mart in the Low Countries and elsewhere, of the condition of our mercantile marine, and of the manner in which, at the time when he wrote—the close of the reign of Edward the Sixth,—our coasts were fished, not by ourselves, but by our neighbours (see p. 14).

It is now printed for the first time from a MS. volume in 12mo. written on vellum in black letter, and apparently in the hand of "William Cholmeley, Londyner," the author. This volume is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates of Edinburgh. It has been well bound, and is still in good condition, though the gilding has faded. The MS. undoubtedly at one time belonged to Edward the Sixth,* as the Royal arms with the initial E. on one side and R. on the other are stamped on the boards, with scriptural sentences above and below. Thus the one side has "AN IDLE OR DISCEITFULLE HANDE MAKETH PORE;"

* The Member of the Camden Society to whom the Council are indebted for calling their attention to this volume, spoke of it as having been addressed to, and having been the property, of Queen Elizabeth. The date, however, and the mention at p. 13 of the "King's Majestie," shows that it was addressed to Edward the Sixth, and the initial E. on the binding refers to that sovereign.

then the arms, and below, "BVT A DILIGENT HAND MAKETH RYCHE.—PROVERB. 10." And the other "NO MAN LYGHTEH A CANDLE AND PVTTETH IT"—then the arms; then—"IN A PRIVY PLACE NEITHER VNDER A BVSHELL.—LVCE, 11."

How this volume passed from the library of the sovereign cannot now be ascertained; but it has been in possession of the Faculty of Advocates for nearly a century and a half, as is proved by the following inscription written on the back of the title:—

"D. Guliëlmus Blackwood, Mercator Edinburgensis, hunc librum Bibliothecæ Facultatis quæ Edinburgi est, donavit 22 April. 1705."

The signature "Gulielmus Blackwood" is at the bottom of the page, and there is no doubt the inscription is in his handwriting. It is not unlikely that he may have been a relative of Sir Robert Blackwood, who was Provost of Edinburgh 1711-12.

The Discourse itself contains nothing to identify the writer beyond his name—William Cholmeley; the addition, which tells us that he was a "Londyner;" and the passage (p. 19) where he speaks of himself as being "a grosser and one that selleth spyces." Upon these hints, I have been enabled by the assistance of my friend Mr. Corner, F.S.A. to identify him with a William Cholmeley, of London, grocer, whose will, dated 28th May, 1554, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 20th of June in the same year. It is a small fact, but strongly corroborative of their identity, that, as in his Tract he calls himself simply "Londyner," so in his will, instead of adopting the usual form of the time and calling himself "Citizen and Grocer of London," he merely describes himself as William Cholmeley, of London, Grocer.

By this will, which it will be observed was executed and proved during the first half of the year following that in which the Tract

now printed was composed, he appoints his wife Agnes and his sons Henry Cholmeley and William Cholmeley executors, and John Rivers, grocer, overseer. He bequeaths one moiety of his estate to his wife, and the other moiety to his two sons, and his small gold chain to Rivers, his overseer. There is no mention in it of his place of residence, or even of the parish or district of London in which he resided. It was probably in the suburbs, as, upon reference to the books of the Grocers' Company, he does not appear to have been a member, although his sons Henry and William both were; the former having been one of the wardens of the Company in 1546, and the latter having been admitted to the freedom as apprentice of Edmund Style (an alderman) on the 21st June, 1536.

Poor Cholmeley speaks of himself (p. 4) as "being no man of great substance," which is confirmed by his will, for his legacies were few and small,—twenty shillings each to three persons; and, although he must have been an old man, the same document shows us that he was still in trade, inasmuch as in it he releases William Peartree, his apprentice, from the rest of his term of service.

The woollen manufacture, as the early staple of England, was at all periods the subject of frequent legislative enactment, and we may probably find the occasion of Cholmeley writing the present tract in the great interest which was felt in the wool trade in his time, as is shown by the fact that in addition to what he calls the king's "gratious last Acte," namely, the 5th and 6th of Edward VI., entitled, "An Acte for the Meterage of Wollen Clothe," by the 14th Section of which it is enacted that Mayors, &c. of London and other cities shall appoint "searchers of cloths who may examine the same as to the dressing, dyeing, and pressing thereof," the wool trade was

the subject not only of several other Acts * passed during the short reign of the Sixth Edward, but was moreover the occasion of differences between the two Houses; for, on the "Bill for the True Making of Broad Cloth" being read in the House of Lords on the 5th April, certain doubts being found in the same, several Lords were appointed to meet with some of the Lower House for their full instruction therein. A Bill for making broad cloth in cities and towns was also read the third time on the 29th of March following and rejected.

WILLIAM J. THOMS.

Christmas, 1852.

* 3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 2, an Acte for the true making of wollen clothes. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 7, an Acte lymittinge the tymes of buyinge and sellinge of woolles. Ibid. cap. 8, an Acte lymittinge what persons shall weave or make brode wollen clothe. 7 Edw. VI. cap. 8, an Act for the true fulling and thicking of caps. Ibid. cap. 9, an Acte for the true makinge of white playne streightes and pynned white streightes in Devon and Cornwall.

THE REQUEST AND SUITE, &c.

BEYNG moved by the instinct of nature, moost dreade Soveraigne, to wish good unto this my naturall contrey, I have sundrye tymes consydered the goodly and ryche commodities wherwith the Almightie Maker of all thinges hathe so abundantly blessed this littell corner of the earth.

And fynding the same to be so nedefull to man's beyng, that for the necessitie of them no nation maye lacke them; and so perfect, that for the goodlynes of them all nations be desyrous of them, I was occasioned greatly to lament that eyther for lacke of thinges therunto belongyng, eyther for lacke of studious desyre of the knowledge to do thynges perfectly and well, or else for lacke of wyttis apt to receyve the knowledge of such thynges, we were not able to adde that perfection to our commodities which nature hath lefte to be finyshed by arte.

But when I consydered how the unserchable purpose of God hath, by the lacke of necessarie commodities, dryven all the nations of the earth to seke one upon another, and therby to be knyt togither in amitye and love, I thought, that as this realme lacketh (and that naturally) thynges necessarily required to the perfecting of oure commodities, it myght also be a thyng naturall to the English nation, to be so unperfect of wytt that we coulde never be able to attayne to the knowledge of true and perfect workemanshyp, because God woulde dryve us therby to suffer other nations to have a commoditie by makyng oure commodities perfect.

Which my conjecture semed to me so muche the more probable, for that it hath ben attempted at sundry tymes, and that by the high

powers of this realme, to have that thing well and perfectly done by the Englyshe nation, for the accomplishing wherof nothing is wantyng, savynge only the knowledge to use those thinges aryght wherwith it is done; and yet to this daye it coulde never be brought to passe.

This, notwithstandyng I have conceyved a better opinyon of God's mercyfull kyndnes towardis us Englyshemen, then that the inhabilitie of oure wyttes shuld be the cause that we attayne not to this knowledge; and do rather ascrybe it to oure beastly blyndnesse, which wyll not suffer us to searche for that knowledge which oure wyttes are able enough to attayne, as experience teacheth us in suche of the Englyshe nation as have ernestly bent themselves to the studye of musycke, or any other the liberall artis.

I am perswadyd therfore that God hath not enryched us with commodities which we can not through the weakenes of oure wittis make perfect; but rather, we beynge beastly mynded, and sekyng to gayne much by doynge lyttle, every man sekeyng his owne pryvate commoditie, without regarde of the weale publike, do not diligently applye oure good wyttis to the serchyng oute of good knowledge, but to the inventyng of subtyle dysceyte (wherin we excell al other nations), to our pryvate avancement, but the decaye of the publycke weale of oure contrey.

For as God hath enryched us with woulle, leade, lether, and tynne, so hath he enryched other contreyes with other commodities which we may in nowyse lacke. And yet he hath not denied to any of those nations the power of reasone, wherby they maye be able to make those theyr commodities so perfect by workemanship, that they nede none of oure helpe in the doyng therof. So in lyke maner God hath not gyven us woulle in such goodly plentye, and so fyne, to make us sheperdes only and merchauntis of woule, denying us the power of reasone to worke the same in cloth and cappis, as fynely, truly, and perfectly, as any other nations shal be able to doe.

It is oure gredye desyre of gettyng pryvate commoditie therfore that causeth us falsely to accuse the almyghtie maker of all mankynde of ingratitude towardes us, affirmyng that he hath denyed us the

aptnesse to conceyve knowledge, wher as no nation under the heaven is more bounde to give God thankes in this behalfe then we are.

I therfore, as one to whom God hath gyven leaste knowledge, have attempted to playe the part of younge David, to take awaye the rebuke of my contreymen, and to be revenged upon them that falsely have reported that oure most lovyng Father and mercyfull Lorde hath dealt most unlovyngly and unmercyfully with us Englyshe men, denying unto us the thinge which he hath graunted to all mankynde by nature, that is, the aptnesse of wytt to be perfect workemen.

And because that amonge oure commodities ther is none more nedefull to be wrought by us Englyshemen then woulle, forasmuch as of it are made boeth cloth and cappis, which every man muste necessarily weare, I have attempted to have the same wroughte and dyed within this realme by Englyshemen, as substantyallye, truly, and perfectly well, as ever it was, is, or can be done in Flanders or in France, or any other parte of all the whole worlde.

And because the greatest difficultie, and only harde poynte of this myne attempted enterpryse, consisteth in the true and perfecte dying of cloth and cappis, with wodde and mader; I thought good to trye first what myght be done therin, not doubtyng to bryng all thinges easyly to passe, if I mighte once attayne to the knowledge of the hardest poynt.

And to atchyve this my first purposed enterpryse, I sent to Anwarpe, and there procured for wages a man verye expert in the feate of dyinge, and wyllinge to serve in Englande, so that he myght sustayne no losse nor displeasure, if for lacke of water good for that purpose he could not performe the thinge that I requyred; for the dyars of Englande have raysed a foule slaunder upon the famouse river of Temys, and all other waters of this your majesties realme, affyrmyng that the water therof wyll not serve to dye substanciall, true, and perfect colours withall, whear as no water in the whole worlde serveth better for the purpose, then my workeman hath tryed the water of Temes to do.

To take awaye this let of this workman's connyng, I my selfe (beinge no man of great substance, and yet able to sustayne so muche losse if it had so chaunced) toke the whole adventure in hande, determinyng to put in hasarde so muche for the wealth of my contrey.

And susteyneyng no losse by the firste adventure, but enjoyng a sufficient gayne, I conditioned with my sayde workeman for the terme of x yeres, makyng a dyar of your majesties boroughe of Southwarke (who hath al maner implement to dying belongyng) halfe partnar with me duryng the tyme of the covenaunte made with my workeman, because that of my selfe I am not able (neyther hath it been my bryngyng up) to furnishe a dye house with all thinges thereto belongyng.

Thus have my partnar and I occupyed togyther the space of three yeres last past, either for us gayneing clearly by yere one hundred markes at the least upon the only dyinge of carsayes, broade clothes, and cappis, after the maner of the dyinge in Fraunce and Flaunders; which workemanship by my workeman done, and by the wearying tryed, is founde to be as good, substanciall, true, and perfect as any that hath ben or is dyed in the realme of France, Anwarp, or any other place beyonde the seas; which thynge must nedis be very beneficiall to me and my partnar, for as much as ther is none in all this realme that doeth or can do the thing but only oure only workeman and suche as have or shall learne it at his hande, which can be none but suche as we must nedis have great commoditie by.

Notwithstanding, I for my parte, nothyng regardynge the pryvate gayne that doeth and myght growe to me warde by the meane of the singularitie of the feate, used by none other in all this realme, but by me and my partnar; have thought it my duitie to make the thinge knowen to your majestie, that by thadvise of your most honorable counsellours your auctoritie myght make the feate common to all your loveing and faythfull subjectes, not only the dyars of the citie of London, but of all other cities and townes in al your majesties

dominions, to the greate honoure of this realme in the abandonyng of all desceytfull coloures, and takyng away the reproche and shame of the Englysh nation, which is reconned to be so grose wytted that they be not able to attayne to the knowledge of the perfect workemanship of their owne commodities, to the full contentation of your majestie and of your nobles, who are or shall be delyted in the wearynge of true and perfect good cloth trewly dyed at a reasonable pryce, rejecting all vayne and unprofitable silkes which at this daye are al to excessyve a pryce; and to the incomparable commoditie of this your majesties realme and subjectes in that behalfe, wherby the same maye in tyme be enryched with infinite treasure, as forthwith I shall declare.

Fyrst, it may pleas your majestie to understande that yerelye ther is caryed out of this realme by Englyshe merchauntes and strayngers to the number of one hundreth and fyftye thousande broade clothes at the least, undyed and undressed.

Secondly, that the same be all wrought in Flaunders, Hollande, Brabant, Zealande, Eastlande, and Doucheland, to the settyng at worke of two hundreth thousande persons and above.

Thyrdly, that upon every of the sayde clothes is gayned by the cloth workars and dyars towardis their lyveing and sustentation at y^{e} least xx^{s}. which amounteth to the summe of j^{c}. l^{m}. poundis by the yere, besydes the gayne that ryseth upon the utteraunce of so much woade, mather, allume, and other thinges as necessarily appertayneth to the dyinge and dressyng of those clothes.

Fourthly, that our marchauntis do by martyng in Anwarp spende yerely in packehouse romes, in chambers, and oftynge with expenses in journeyinge to and fro, y^{e} summe of $xxij^{m}$ poundis, which summe beinge added to the former summe of j^{c}. l^{m}. poundes, amounteth to j^{c} $lxxij^{m}$ li. which might growe of the laboure of youre majesties subjectis by true and perfect dying and dressyng of cloth, if the same were done within your realme, if the Englysh nation helde their marte within your majesties sayd realme of Englande.

Fyftly, and laste, it may please your majestie to understande, that

the martynge of oure marchauntis of Anwarp is the drawing thyther of the whole worlde of marchauntis, which are in number even xx^{ti} tymes so many as our marchauntis be, and spende xx^{ti} tymes so muche as oure marchauntis do, which is iiij^{c} xl^{m} li. to the greate enrichyng of those contreys; which great commoditie, or at the least waye the greatest part therof, shulde be ours, if our marchauntis helde ther mart within this realme; for all marchauntis of this part of the worlde doe and must of necessitie seke our cloth as the chepe marchaundice that marchaundizeth in all quarters of the worlde as well as golde and sylver do.

But nowe me thyncketh I see a whole legion of marchauntis, dyars, and drapers of this realme of England (even utter enemies to the weale publicke of the same) bendyng them selves agaynst myne enterprise, who (no dought) wyll brynge in a whole sea of objections agaynst that which I have wrytten, wherfore I have thought it mete that I answer to suche theyr objections as seame to have in them some shewe of trueth, to thentent that your majestie maye understande that I have not rashely enterprised to geve your majestie information in these thinges without considerynge what wylbe sayde to the contrarye by them that feare the losse of a singular commoditie, when publyke weale shalbe advanced.

The fyrst objection:—

And fyrste standeth forth the drapar, and he objecteth for his parte sayinge, Our Englyshmen cannot dye the Flemmysh and French blacke lyke as the Frenchmen and Flemmynges, wherfore we must nedis have them dyed beyounde the seas.

The seconde objection:—

Then steppeth forth the dyar, and sayth that the water of England wyll not serve to dye those coullors withall.

The thyrde objection:—

Then sayth the marchauntman, if we shulde not carie oure clothe beyonde the seas undressed and undyed we shulde not hold our mart ther, and then howe shulde our navye be mayntayned?

The fourth objection:—

Agayne, another objecteth and sayth, If we shulde not have oure mart beyonde the seas, and let them have our cloth undressyd and undyed, they woulde make cloth them selves; so shoulde we be in a farre worse takyng then nowe, ffor then we shoulde have no utteraunce of our cloth at all.

The ffyfte objection:—

Another sayth, that dyinge wasteth much wode, and we have scarsitie of wode alredye, and nede not to have all oure cloth dyed at whome to make our wode more scant, as it must nedes do.

The syxte objection:—

And yet another, how were it possible that we shulde be able to bryng this thinge to passe, seynge we must nedis have boeth workemen and stuffe to worke withall from them, that woulde rather spende greate treasure then we shulde be able to do it.

The seventh objection:—

And yet one more objecteth, sayinge, what if the Spaniardis shoulde stay ther oyles, as they have of late stayed theyr alume, so that none myght passe but upon lycence, how shoulde we then have oyles to worke oure woules withall?

Here is an heape of objections. But if it shall please your majestie to marke howe I have learned by experyence to answer them, I do not dought but it shal be a matter for your grace to laugh at, to consyder how these men, blynded with a present pryvate commoditie, do bende them selves to bryng upon themselves and theyr posteritie an universall decaye and utter destruction.

Firste, where the draper sayeth that oure contreymen can not dye the Flemmyshe and Frenche colours; his meanyng is that they can not dye it so muche for his profyt; for if these coulours were commonly in this realme, then coulde not the draper sell that yarde of Frenche or Flemmysh blacke for iiij^{li}. or more money, which standeth hym not in xx^{s}., as I am able to prove that they do nowe. And yet ther objection is true; our contrey men can not dye those colours aryght. But what may a man conclude upon this propo-

sition? It semeth that the drapar woulde conclude thus: oure contreymen cannot dye the Flemmysh and French colours; *ergo*, it were not good, or it is not possible, for them to learne. But a logitian wyll conclude thus: *Ergo*, it were good that they did by some meane learne it, for these colours are necessary for the Englysh nation. But our drapar seeth no farthar then his present commoditie; he seeth not that the excessyve pryce of his fyne blacke shall dryve men rather to weare velvet and worsted of Saynt Thomas, or sylkes of Italy and Spayne, then so muche over bye his good colour. No, he seeth not how his presente commoditie spryngeth of the presente discommoditie of his neyghbours and contreymen, and that he doeth styll empoverysh his contreymen and enryche the straungers; which must nedis, at the last, decay them by whom the drapar hym selfe hath his commoditie,—and wher is master drapar then? Thus your majestie may perseyve after what sorte the drapar, havyng respecte to his present commoditie, doeth all that in hym lyeth to pull upon hymselfe, and all other his contreymen, an universall decay and distruction.

Then where the dyar sayth that the waters of this contrey wyll not serve to set suche colours, it procedeth not of knowledge, as it appeareth by that my workeman hath and doeth with the water of Temmis set as good colours as ever wer sett in Flaunders or Fraunce. But they woulde fayne that the water should not serve, because it wer not good theyr ignoraunce to be knowen, and the great gyle uttered, wherby they also have a pryvate commoditie, in that they have as much monye for a false colour as they shulde have then for a true coloure. They would not be bounde to the degrees of wodde, as the dyars ar at Anwarp, and be in other contreys. They would not that men should knowe the first degree of wodde that apperteyneth to a blacke, nor the seconde, thurde, nor fourth degree; they woulde not that men shulde be so wyse to understande, whan they go to see or bye a pece of cloth, to know what wodde and howe much, or what coste was put theron; noe, it is not convenyent for the dyars, nor yet for the drapars profittis that we Englyshmen shulde be so skylfull,

for that the best wodde that our dyars occupye is masterynge as they terme it, and that is the blacke panne of rynes, barkes, galles, coppores, afterwarde floryshed up with a shewe of disceytfull brasell, wherby they take great hyre for slender coste. But now master dyar, supposyng to take me in great advantage as a lyar, wyll stoutly saye that they do wodde all theyr clothes that serve for blacke. Indede for the greater parte I graunt they so do, but as the Englyshe proverbe goeth, "as good never awhytt, as never the better," for that they geve suche wodde for a blacke as scantly wyll serve for a grene or tawny; gevyng the fonde drapar for iiij^{d} in wodde that is not worth j^{d}, and suche as when mader cannot serve to make it a treu, good, and perfecte blacke, but rather a redd, it is then cast into the blacke pan, and there fynished. Thus and for theire occasions the dyar saith, that the water will not serve, because they would not have it serve, respectyng only ther owne present commoditie, not consyderyng that theyr contreymen that be thus desceyved by them shall at the last fall to wearyng of cheper coullours; suche lyke as they have alredye done, not only to the utter decaye of all dying in this realme, but also to the great diffacyng of oure owne commoditie by wearyng of cloth, for at this daye no man almost wyll meddle with any coullours of clothe touchinge wodde and mader, unlesse it beare the name of Frenche or Flaunders dye; so that partly by that so manye as be able to bye a cloth dyed in Flaunders or Fraunce, wyll not medle with any cloth that is dyed within this realme. This must nedis (in tyme) brynge an universall decaye upon the dyars, as a just plage for that they, respectyng their pryvate and present commoditie only, cannot se their owne decaye, which is even at hande. It were to longe to declare to your majestie all the ignorance of this sorte of people, which causeth them to destroy not only that wodde, allum, and mader which they bestowe upon the cloth that they wodde, but also washe awaye and poure downe the gutters, well most as muche good stuffe as they cast awaye upon the cloth, and all is because they knowe not (neyther will they learne) to order it aright; wheras my forsayde workeman, as one knowyng the nature of

thinges wherwith he worketh, bestoweth all upon the cloth, and maketh a true, even, and perfecte colour, without any waste of stuffe, or dysceyte of any desceytful thinges; which oure dyars in no wyse can doe; and all theise colours can my workeman doe, which the dyars of Englande cannot doe, out of whight wolen clothes and carseys, as fyrst grenes, tawneys, blewes, sadde or light, mourrey, browne blews, and sadde or light blackes, or othere whatsoever to wodde and mader appertayneth.

Now, for the marchaunt man's objection, wherin he demaundeth how oure navye shoulde be mayntayned, if we shoulde dresse and dye our cloth at home, and not holde our mart in some foren contrey. I saye, and experyence shall prove it, that oure navye should be better mayntayned then it is nowe; for how is it Holland, Sealland, and Flaunders have so great a multitude of great hulkes and shipps? are they not maintayned by the menes of the mart at Anwarpe? But the marchaunt man sayeth, what speake you of a marte at Anwarpe and a mart at London? do ye loke to have all this parte of the worlde to come to your marte in Englande, as they doe to Anwarpe? Naye, it will not be; indede I woulde not wyshe so manye. But I am right sure that of all quarters some woulde seke us, and that so many as we shoulde desyre; for with what wyll the Italyans passe beyound them into Turky, Constantinople, Alexandria, and other farre contreys and cyties, to fetche sylkis, spyces, drugges, jewellis, currantes, gallis, malmesey (here brewydd), golde, and suche lyke, but with cloth? yea, with Englyshe cloth. And they be no longer marchauntis then they have clothe to travell withall as marchauntis. Wherwith wyll the Easterlyngis marchaundize, trucke, and bye the commodities of Polerlande, Russlande, Sweaneland, Pomerlande, Toterlande, and suche other farre contreys passynge to Rye and Revell that waye eastwarde; as masts, waynescote, hemp, pytche, tarre, ashes, wax, fflex, copper, yron, and corne, which commeth so plentuously oute of Pollande? but even with Englyshe cloth. Wherwithall wyll the Spaniardis and Portugalles traffycke into Calicute, into Affrica, Barbaria, Nova Hispania, into the yles of Canarya, into

Perew, Brasilia, and manye dyverse ilandis and contreys, to fetch sugar, spices, wodd, brassell (a fauls colour), golde, and other commodities? even with Englyshe cloth, as the chyffyst and best marchaundice, that marchaundizeth to them as well as golde and silver, for they are not so madde to carry coyne unto these straunge nations for straunge thynges as we do. Wherwithall woulde the colde and large contreys of Doutchlande, Almayne, and Hungarye cloth themselves, and consume the commodities which they make, as ffustians and many other, if they shulde not have oure Englyshe cloth? Wherfore it is evydent that all such as must necessarilye be marchauntis into all these contreys wyll seke oure cloth in Englande, as they do nowe in Flaunders, and as they have done in tymes past in Sealande, Callis, Brydges, and Englande. And so shall oure navy be as well mayntayned by them as the navye of the emperour's lande is nowe, by passynge into all partes of the worlde with marchaundyce; yea, and oure own shippes shal be hyred to brynge whome to us all suche commodities as we shall desyre to have, boeth to satisfye oure selves and other contreys also, to the great enrychinge of the kyngis maiestie, by his custome, and also by his welthy commons; whoe must nedis be welthy, by makyng the uttermost of their owne commoditie at the handes of straungers, without anye losse sustayned by adventure, and reseyvynge all foren commodities also by the one halfe better cheep without adventure, then they do nowe, takyng upon them all the adventure, and levynge all theyr gaynes upon ther neyghbours at home, to whome they make sale of such vayne thinges as they brynge us from beyounde the seas; for they sell oure Englyshe cloth as good cheep in Anwarp and in Spayne at this daye as ever they dyd, and so have they done all this tyme of the dearth of cloth here, and paye double for all thinges that they bryng us thense. So that the clothe which they carrye oute wyll not answer in valew those thinges which are yerely brought into this realme, for oure clothe is solde to the straungers at his olde pryce; but the marchandice that commeth in is doubled. As if the valew of all thinges that come into the realme in one yere did in tymes past amount to CCCC$^{m\ li}$. the same

is solde to us nowe at DCCC$^{m\ li}$. or rather X$^{c\ m\ li}$. Oure marchauntis therfore are dryven to cary oute all thinges that may be made marchaundice. And wher all wyll not serve, menye must nedes be dysbursed and convayed hence. And be it presupposed, that in one yere they disburse but l$^{m\ li}$ over and besydes the valew of the cloth and other marchaundice that is carryed from hense in x yeres, this amounteth to v$^{c\ m\ li}$, which is no small sum of monye. Neyther is it any mervayle though all our olde angelles be flowen into Flaunders and Fraunce, and oure newe sufferantes sent after, with all oure fyne sylver, bothe olde and newe, seynge ther must so muche goe yerely. And yet I durst be bolde to saye (if the trueth wer knowen as it doeth partly appeare) that within these xij. yeres last past this realme hath ben robbed of a thousande thousande, and two hundreth thousande powndis, and rather more. And this thinge can never be remedyed, unlesse the Englysh nation withdrawe ther mart from Flaunders, for oure martyng there hath drawne thyther such a nest of marchauntis, and hath so enryched them with oure commodites, that they are able and doe knytt themselves in such companyes, contractis, counters, and felowshipps, that so longe as they maye have our cloth brought to them they doe and wyll make us seke them, and give them oure clothes at ther owne pryce, and give them ther owne askynge for what soever commoditie is to be had of thers there; oure marchauntis therfore that alledge the decaye of oure navye, are but blynded with present commoditie which they have by sellynge the marchaundice that they brynge home at to excessyfe a pryce, and by byeing and conveyghing oure fyne golde and sylver, which must nedis in tyme be the utter decay of the whole realme, and consequently of the marchauntis themselves also; but if so muche monye as the realme is yerely robbed of were yerely bestowed upon seamen, I dout not but we shoulde have as manye of your majesties subjectis fyshing in your streames as be now of Hollanders, Sealande men, and Flemmyngis; and as manye takynge fyshe upon your majesties coostis of Irelande as there be nowe Spaniardis. So that oure navye nedeth not decaye by withdrawing the mart from

Anwarpe. But one lett among other is, that oure marchauntis feare they should be to seke, and be set to a newe lesson, if they shoulde leve ther olde marte towne and seake a newe, which they can neyther alow nor seke, because of the present gayne, which they now gredely follow.

Well, now let us goe to the fourth objection, which maye seme to ryse upon the answer to the thyrde. If we call home oure mart (sayth one) other nations wyll make cloth themselves, and then what shall we doe with oure mart at home. I graunt they wyll make cloth, and they doe make cloth, yes, even as good as any is made in Englande; but not without Englyshe woul. No, neyther can all other nations make the xxxth part so muche as the worlde requyreth and necessytie must nedis have, excepte they have oure Englysh woules. Suche is oure plentye and fyennes of woule, and theyr scarcitie and grosenes.

But what shall we saye to the fyfte objection, wherin it is sayde that we must have al thingis to this workemanshipp belonging, and workemen also from them that would spende great treasure of monye; yea, I think and beleve v. myllyons of golde rather then we should be able to doe it, or brynge this enterpryce to pass; and therefore it is not possyble for us to bryng it to effect. I answer, that it is verye trueth, we must nedis have oure wodde out of Fraunce, oure mather out of Flaunders, and oure allum out of Spayne. And at the fyrst we must have workemen out of some of theyse contreys to teach oure workemen the feate. But after that oure men be instructed what nede we any of ther workemen? But if we dyd nede them coulde we lacke them? No, noe; when they shall not have our cloth to worke, they wylbe glad to be ryd of ther people that lyve by the working of it, and the workmen as gladde to be ryd of ther contrey to be there wheare they myght worke and lyve. But then they woulde kepe from us wodde, mader, and allum. How doe the Spaniardis and Flemmynges kepe theyr allum and mader from the Frenchmen in this tyme of theyr wars? I am sure the Frenche men sende not theyr clothe into Flaunders to be dyed there. The

commoditie of a contrey is lyke the water of a great ryver, and as they that stop the course of a ryver, and wyll suffer no man to fetche of the water from them, shall have more discommoditie by the kepying of the water then others can have by the lacke of it, and yet in short tyme it wyll breake from them, magre theyr headdis, and so they that lacked it a whyle shall have the more plentye of it; even so, they that shall kepe the commoditie of theyr contrey from them that have the thing that it serveth for, shall at the laste (yea and that within short space) be glad to let it have the ryght course, and content themselves to be marchauntis to those places where the utteraunce of theyr commodities lyeth moost best. But now master objector wyll saye that I have made a good symilitude agaynst my selfe; for if we stop oure cloth and woule a whyle, we shalbe glad to let the Flemmynges have it agayne. It is true, so long as we are not perfecte workemaneshippe, we shall never have the utteraunce of halfe the cloth that oure woule wyll make; but if oure workmanshipp were once perfect, we coulde not have so muche woule growyinge in Englande as we myht utter in cloth. And I am sure it is no smale sum of mony that is bestowed yerely in Flaunders coloured cloth, in Frenche dyed cappis, in hattis, and Spaynishe feltis, only to be worne in Englande (settyng a worke all nations, but ours kepyng in ydlenes,) which should not nede if our dye were as perfect as theyrs, for we have the princypall, which is fyne woule, without which theyr coloure is to smalle purpose to marchaundice. I graunt we shoulde for a tyme have a sharpe conflycte with those stoute enymes whome we have with oure commodities and treasure enryched. But those souldiours are not worthy prayse that wyll for one sharp assalt of theyr enimyes gyve over ther hold. Neyther will they that entende to kepe a fort gyve it over so longe as they knowe them selves to be strong enough, and to have sufficient vitayles to kepe the holde longer then theyr enemyes shal be to contynew the sydge. We might well suffer lack of thinges belongyng to pleasure (for a time), but of thingis necessarye to lyveing, as meat, drinke, and cloth, we shall have plentye longer then the

Flemmyngis shalbe able to kepe from us theyr mader or any thinge ells of theyrs, unlesse we would suffer oure grounde to lye untylled, and loke to lyve lyke idle luskis, as everye man (welmoost) woulde do at this daye, and as a great many are dryven to doe, by the reasone that oure marchauntis carrye away oure commodities unwrought, whereupon oure people shoulde be set on worke. And to have abundaunce of the best commoditie (which is woule), a greate part of oure necessarye tyllage is turned to pasture, so that when reasonable wetheryng fayleth us we are dryven to provyde corne out of forren contreys, to our great discommoditie and dishonoure of this realme, the grounde whereof is most fertyle and apt for tillage; and this thinge must nedes be a decaye at the laste, as it partly appeareth; for notwithstandyng the seasonable wetheryng that we have hadde these late yeres, yet doeth grayne and all thingis nourished by tyllage, (that is to say, hennys, capons, and all other pultrye, great oxen, swyne, and thyngis belongyng to housewifery,) holde styll an unreasonable pryce. It is playne, therefore, that theise objectours have an yeie only to their present commoditie, nothing what distruction it bryngeth to theyr contrey. And styll they harp on this one strynge—How can it come to passe, we are not able to compas it? It is treuth we are not, unlesse we abate of oure pleasures, and content oureselves for a tyme with necessaryes. But if the marchauntis of London, which are the cheff, and other abrode, woulde take as great travell and byde as great adventure to profyte theyr contrey, by maynetayning theyr contreymen in worke, and utteryng thyngis wrought by them, as they doe in carying away the thingis that shoulde be wrought by them, and in bryngynge tryfelyng thynges nothynge profitable to theyr contreymen, but hurtfull, mayntayning the hole worlde of workefolke; then should we see that they coulde fynd the means to compasse not only this smalle matter, but manye other. And if the drapars, dyars, and clotheworkers were as wyllyng to bestow monye in the advaunceyng of the publicke weale as they are in feastynge in theyr hallis at the chosinge new wardyns, and tryumphyng when an

heade offycer of the cytie chaunceth to be one of theyr companye, then coulde they save somwhat towards the compassynge of this matter. There is no doubt, moost dreade soverayne, that if every man were wyllyng, the matter woulde be founde lyght ynough, for nothynge is harde to them that be wyllynge.

To the syxt objection (which is, that dyinge wasteth much wode) I answere thus: it wasteth muche wode in verye dede, but yet it wyll not destroye so much wode these hundreth yeres as the unsatiable desyre of pasture for sheep and cattell hath caused to be stocked up by the rotis within these xxx^{ti} yeres laste paste, contrarye to the lawes of this realme. Well, that answer satisfieth not; wherfore I saye that we have plentye of sea cole in many partes of this realme, so that we may in moost partis of this realme have them to serve our turne in dyinge as well as the Flemmingis have, and as good cheape, for they burne and occupye none other fuell then coles that are dygged out of the grounde, lyke as our smythes doe. Oure dying therefore should not be wastfull to oure wodis, but rather a preserveyng, by staying the Newcastell colys at home, for then shoulde oure dyars that do nowe wast much wode in dyinge disceytful coloures, burne no wode at all, and yet shoulde they dye as true and perfect coulours, and to them more benefytt.

To the seventh and laste objection I saye (as the Englysh proverbe souneth) "If the skye fall we shall take many larkis." It is a thynge much to be feared that the Spaniardis will not utter suche commodities growynge in theyr contrey as they must nedis lyve by, without the utteraunce wherof they can not have such forren commodities as they muste nedis have. And though it were to be feared, yet nede not we to feare, for when they can have none of oure cloth in Flaunders wyll they not bryng us oyles to have oure cloth at oure handis, as well as they suffer us to have it now without oure commoditie made perfect, halfe wrought and halfe unwrought? But I thynke it shulde be a great deal more for oure profite, if they did not only restrayne theyr oyles and allum, but all theyr other wares also, which are but tryfles, and thinges belongyng to lycorous lippis,

meter for children then reasonable people at that pryce. Yea, I woulde wysh that the pryses of all the Spaniardis tryflyng wares were enhaunced to fyve tymes the valew that they be at, though they be in verye dede at so excessyve pryses allredy, that no wyse nation woulde bye so many of them as we doe, at so unreasonable price. But if they wer reysed to v. tymes this unreasonable price, I thynke then we shoulde learne wytte, and fynde a mart towne at home, and not abyde so great adventure in carrying oute so good commodities to bryng home tryfles, with as great daunger, not only by sea but also there by restraynt of forren prynces. And yet the pryce of those tryfles is metely well enhaunced, as I (beynge a grosser, and one that selleth spyces) am well able to declare. As fyrst pepper, wont to be solde for xx^{d} the pounde, now solde at iij^{s} the pounde. The reysons or dryed grapes of Spayne, which (in tyme that I have knowne) were boughte for vj^{s} viij^{d} the hundreth, and myght be retayled for i^{d} the pounde, to a great lyving, and are now solde to us for xxi^{s}, and can not be retayled under ij^{d} ob. the pounde. The sugar that I have knowne at iiij^{d} the li. is nowe at xiiij^{d}. The almons at xviij^{s} the hundreth within these fewe yeres, but nowe at liij^{s} iiij^{d}. White sope at xviij^{s}, now at xliij^{s}, &c. &c. The allum somtyme at vj^{s} viij^{d} the hundreth, nowe at xxvj^{s} viij^{d}. Oyle wont to be solde for ix^{li} or x^{li} the tunne, now is solde for xxiiij^{li}. Dates, somtyme at xviij^{s} ye hundreth, now at xlviij^{s}. Maces for v^{s} the li. now at xx^{s} the pounde. Fyggis at xx^{d} the tapnet, nowe at iiij^{s}. And so of all other, as well in hole as in part, touchyng spycery. And as it is in spyces, so is it in sylkes, so in wynes, which do us more hurt then good, in lynnen cloth, thredde, and all other thingis wherof many (suche as be profitable) myght be made in the realme, if houswifrye dyd florishe amonge us. And a greate manye were better spared then bought, and yet we bye them at an excessyve pryce, by reasone that we seke them so gredely. But this objector sayth that I know not what I saye, in that I affirme oure sekyng of merchaundice to be one great cause of the enhaunced price. For the exchange (sayth he) is the cause, by the meanes of the basyng of oure

coyne. Indede the exchaunge doeth hurte somewhat; as to saye in every hundreth xxx^{li}, but thexalting of marchaundice of foren contreys was in every hundreth cc. and ccc; which robbyth the realme of all oure golde and sylver, and wyll doe, if remedy be not provyded, besydes the plage and hurt that every man feleth in ye derenesse of them. But whoso loketh well about hym shall fynde that evyn in Spayne, and in the great mart towne of Anwarp, all wares are dearer now by doble, and in most wares by trebyll pryses, then they were xj or xij yeres past. And this can not be by thexchaunge, when they receyve oure cloth for ther wares at the same pryce and valew to them that they had them in tymes past. It is the companyes and fellowshipps of marchauntis of Anwarpe, with ther great stockes and substaunce of monye, knowyng ye folly of oure marchauntis and nation how to leade them, who are theare confederated and bent agaynst the Englysh nation, intendyng to make us pay well (as we doe in dede unreasonably) for oure manyfolde bables that we bye of them, and so to force us to seke upon them to take our cloth (which they woulde sew to us for if we woulde once be wyse), and to conveygh oure fyne gold and sylver out of this realme to gyve them theyr owne askyng for theyr pynnes, theyr paynted papers, head clothes for women, with fore sleves and neckerchefes, glasses, hobbey horses, babies for oure children, and a thousande such like thingis, which all we myght well forbeare. Yea and a great deale of our sylkes also, and other thinges which we have in high estimation. So that if we woulde refrayne theyr vanities, and take no more at ther handis then we have nede of, oure commodities (beyng wrought within this realme) woulde be of valew sufficient to answere all that we shoulde nede to bye of other nations, and to bring in ours, and besydis great treasure of gold and sylver agayne, wherof they have now, and also have caused us to robbe oure selves to enryche them, to the great enpoverishyng of your majesties poore commons, and greater dishonour of the whole nation of Englysh men. Supposyng that it shalbe verye requisith and expedyent to worke all theise or anye part of the premysses in moost

secret maner, that no nation may know or be of counsell in any the foresayde devysed purposes, least they knowyng therof we might be not only prevented but also moche hyndered, for they woulde wrastell sore no doubt, and seke manye meanes, and that by all extremyties, then they woulde receyve so great a foyle, and so moche to be hyndered in theyr common wealth.

Thus have I, (accordyng to my bounden duetie,) declared to your majestie what it hath pleased God to bryng to passe by myne adventure and diligent travell, trustyng that your majestie, (tenderyng the publicke weale of this your realme, and seynge the myserable state that your subjectes are brought into by the meanes that the chiefe commodities wher upon they shoulde be set on worke are caryed beyounde the seas unwrought, and the same beyng by your majesties auctoritie stayed at home in this realme and perfectly wrought by youre majesties subjectis, this great misery shoulde be remedied and great wealth brought into this realme agayne,) wyll use your auctoritie in commaundyng the Lorde mayor of the Citie of London, with his brethren the Aldermen, upon the losse of their auctoritie and office, under your gratious majestie, to see that in the Citie of London all maner of cloth be truely and perfectly dyed, after the maner of Anwarp, which is the just ende and lymyt of trewth in that behalfe. And that no cloth be suffered to be solde in the citie that is disceytfully dyed, wherof the citie floweth, notwithstanding your gratious last Acte, and the serchers appoynted for the same. And that no cloth dyed beyounde the seas be suffered to be solde within the Citie of London upon the losse of the same.

This they may doe by procuring out of Flaunders iij or iiij workemen, honest and expart in the feate of dyinge, which they may doe with small charge. For the workemen wil be gladde to serve for xx^{ti} markis a piece by ye yere, or xx^{li} at the moost, and to teach our contreymen for the same monye.

This charge will not be so great in the whole as the byldynge of one corner of the hospitallis hath bene, which never the lesse they full godly have finyshed. And yet it wyll be a greater, and a more

certayne and durable foundation of relief for the poore, then manye such hospitallis can be, and shall be a greater dede of charitie; for if it be charitie to sucker a thousande, it is greater charitie to sucker many thousandis, even a hundreth thousandis or two, by the advaunc-yng of true dyinge and dressyng of cloth, true dyinge and makyng of cappis, which now are made in other contreys, beynge no defaulte in us but only for the dye. And because the commoditie of profyt and gayne chiefly partayne to the dyars, clothworkers, and drapars (as loth as they be to have it brought to passe), it were convenient that these companyes shoulde be at all the chargis; as well of the provydyng of workemen, as for the mayntaynyng certayne honest searchears,—men skylfull in the coulours of cloth, to make weekly diligent search for the true execution of the premisses. And the charge to be geven them also upon the losse of theyr lyberties and fredom for ever.

Thus offeryng my simple labours and travell in this behalfe to your majestie, I submytte my selfe to your majestie to be an instrument in all that I and my workman can doe towardes the accomplishing of this my desyred purpose, which I doe not doubt but your majestie wyll by your auctorytie brynge to passe, to the glorye of God, your majesties hartie rejoycing, and great wealth of your poore subjectis. The kyng of all kyngis, the gyveare of all thingis, worke this wyl in your heart, and graunt that you maye lyve in good health to reygne over us your majesties subjectis, and se your chyldrens' chyldren, and this your realme, in as muche wealth as ever your fathers' fathers have sene it.

So be it.

Your majesties faythfull and obedient subject,

WILLIAM CHOLMELEY, Londyner.

Proverbes, 20.—A Kyng that sytteth on the throne of judgement, and lokyth well about hym, dryveth away all evyll.

Anno D'ni 1553.

THE DISCOVERY

OF THE

JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL

IN MARCH 1627–8:

AND A LETTER FOUND IN THEIR HOUSE,

(AS ASSERTED,)

DIRECTED TO THE FATHER RECTOR AT BRUXELLES.

EDITED BY

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.L.II.

The Roman Catholic party in England, which had been firmly and rigorously repressed during the reign of Elizabeth, was encouraged to renewed aspirations and exertions on the removal of that stedfast champion of the Protestant Faith. But, whatever hopes they might have formed of the favourable disposition of the new sovereign, were soon disappointed, and the more violent among them rushed into the Gunpowder Treason. Two English Jesuits, Henry Garnet and Edward Oldcorn, alias Hall, were executed as partakers in that conspiracy. This was an attempt well calculated to widen the alienation between the timid James and his Roman Catholic subjects. For a time he proceeded to severe measures; but later in his reign various reasons of state policy, and especially his ambition to form a matrimonial alliance for his heir with either Spain or France, and thus to assert his position as one of the foremost potentates of Europe, induced him to temporise in religious matters, and to relax the operation of those restrictive laws which had been framed to curb the unceasing activity of the Seminary priests.

These men mustered numerously in the metropolis, where they were best able to conceal their real character, assuming a variety of appearances, alleging many pretexts of private business, and altogether eluding the vigilance of the officers of the state and church, more completely than they could have done in less busy localities. In a book called "The Foot out of the Snare," written

by John Gee, a convert from their communion, and published in 1624, is a list of 263 priests then dwelling or sojourning in London, of whom more than seventy are described as Jesuits.[a] England was erected into a Province of the Society of Jesus in 1623; and in 1624 the Pope, for the first time after the Reformation, commissioned a Bishop for England,[b] in subordination to whom were three vicars-general, with archdeacons and other ecclesiastical officers.

At length, the matrimonial alliance of King Charles with France was consummated, and the Papists assumed fresh licence under the patronage of the new Queen. It was a time when on one hand the popish tendencies and arbitrary policy of many about the Court, and on the other the religious differences and political discontents of a large and influential body of the people, began to agitate and divide the kingdom with many distractions.[c] The sympathies of all devout

[a] At p. 46 hereafter will be found a list of Jesuits found by Mr. Justice Long in the House at Clerkenwell: and in pp. 44, 45, a few biographical notes from Gee's book. But for accurate information reference should be made to "Collections towards illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish members of the Society of Jesus. By the Rev. Dr. Oliver, of St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter, 1838." Second edit. 1845. From this source some historical and biographical data are added in p. 47.

[b] It was the negociation of the intended match with the Spanish Infanta which, as Dodd the Roman Catholic historian admits (Church History of England, fol. 1739, ii. 362), "was esteemed a proper juncture" for the mission of a Bishop from Rome to England. Accordingly doctor William Bishop, an aged priest, then upwards of seventy (a native of Brayles in Warwickshire), was consecrated at Paris on the 4th of June, 1623, with the title of Episcopus Chalcedonensis; but he died in less than a year, on the 16th of April, 1624, when Richard Smith was consecrated his successor by the same title. Several papers relative to the latter will be noticed in the sequel.

[c] "The Catholicks are the least in number, yet make up a partie in that state (England) sufficiently considerable, because the body of them is composed of such of the nobility as are most rich, powerfull, and strong in alliance, and of no small number amongst the inferior sort. Now these three factions in religion (the Catholicks, the Protestants, and the Puritans,) though they all oppose one another, yet the hatred of Protestants against

Protestants were deeply engaged in the struggles of the Empire; whilst the war which broke out between England and France encouraged the hopes of our domestic enemies. King Charles had twice met his people in Parliament without satisfactory results, and in 1628 a third Parliament was about to assemble, when the incident occurred to which the following documents relate.

A mansion belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Clerkenwell was found to be occupied by a small community of Jesuits. They were suddenly surprised by one of the officers of government whom it was customary to employ for such services, their persons were arrested, and their property and papers seized. This discovery occurring so soon before the meeting of Parliament, it was resolved to make some political use of it.

The Attorney-general, Sir Robert Heath, who had taken the direction of the seizure, was further employed to write the narrative of the "Discovery." It was founded upon the papers of the Jesuits which had been seized in their house, and which are still preserved in her Majesty's State Paper Office, together with the original draft of the Discovery itself. Of the latter it is probable that several transcripts were made, for the information of different members of the Privy Council, one of which is now in the British Museum.

The Council issued their warrant for the arrest of the Jesuits on the 14th of March, and it was executed on the next day. On the 17th the Parliament met; and on the 24th, in renewing the motion for supply, Mr. Secretary (Sir John) Cooke introduced these remarks:[a]—

Puritans is greater than against Catholicks, and that of Puritans is greater against Catholicks than Protestants." Such is the picture drawn by the author of "The Popes Nuntioes," a pamphlet written on occasion of the mission to England of Gregory Panzani (then nominated Bishop of Chalcedon,) and Seignior Con, in the year 1643.

[a] Rushworth, i. 505.

"The first sower of seeds of distractions amongst us, was an agent of Spain, Gondomar, that did his master great service here and at home. Since that we have had other ministers that have blown the fire. The ambassador of France told his master at home what he had wrought here the last parliament, namely, divisions between King and People, and he was rewarded for it. Whilst we sit here in parliament, there was another intended parliament[a] of Jesuits and other well-willers, within a mile of this place; that this is true was discovered by letters sent to Rome: the place of their meeting is changed, and some of them are there where they ought to be. If you look in your calendar, there is a day of St. Joseph, —it was called in the Letter the Oriental day,—and that was the day intended for their meeting.[b] I speak this to see God's hand to work our union in their division."

[a] "In Clerkenwell."

[b] We may here append the current account of the discovery which was sent to Mr. Mead at Cambridge by his London correspondent, in a letter dated the 21st of March. All the statements it contains cannot be relied upon; they would be the flying reports of the town: but what Mr. Mead relates of Sir Dudley Digges's reply to Secretary Cooke is remarkable, and does not occur elsewhere:—"This day sennight at Clerkenwell were nine gallants taken in a fair-hanged vault with their trinkets (for seven of them are found to be Jesuits or priests), together with their library of books, valued at 400*l.* which moves men to think it was one of the Jesuits' colleges. The suspicion of them grew by the abundance of meat the poor women that dwelt thereabouts bought and provided; which occasioned the search. At first they resisted with store of arms and weapons; but the sheriffs being sent for, those aforesaid were taken, though some are said to have escaped." Mr. Mead added this note to the letter of his correspondent: "Sir John Coke declared unto the House of Commons on Monday, that it was discovered by intercepted letters to be an Anti-Parliament appointed to begin by commission from Rome upon St. Joseph's day. But Sir Dudley Digges answered he could not believe it, and that it was not the Jesuits, but some malevolent persons about the court, who wished ill to the Commons, that disturbed our Parliaments, &c." It will be observed (in p. 8) that, in his conference with the Lords, the Secretary no longer talked of a parliament of Jesuits, but only of "a concurrent assembly."

Two days after, the Commons had a conference with the Lords respecting a petition against Recusants. Mr. Secretary Cooke was appointed to manage this conference, and he introduced the subject in the following terms:—

"In the first place (he said) we acknowledge all due honour, both unto the reverend Fathers of the Church and to our noble Lords, in that ye have shined before us as worthy lights in the encouragement and maintenance of true religion, being the true support of all dignities and honours. And this forwardness of you is the more remarkable, when that viperous generation, as your Lordships justly stiled them, do at ease with tooth and nail essay to rend the bowels of their mother. Give me leave to tell you what I know, that these both vaunt at home and write to their friends abroad. They hope all will be well, and doubt not to prevail, and to win ground upon us.

"And a little to wake the zeal and care of our learned and grave fathers, it is fit that they take notice of that hierarchy which is already established in competition with their Lordships; for they have a Bishop consecrated by the Pope; this Bishop hath his subalternate officers of all kinds, as vicars-general, arch-deacons, rural deans, apparators, and such like; neither are these nominal or titular officers alone; but they all execute their jurisdictions, and make their ordinary visitations through the kingdom, keep courts, and determine ecclesiastical causes. And, which is an argument of more consequence, they keep ordinary intelligence by their agents in Rome, and hold correspondence with the nuntios and cardinals both at Bruxels and in France.

"Neither are the seculars alone grown to this height, but the regulars are more active and dangerous, and have taken deep root; they have already planted their Societies and Colleges of both sexes,

they have settled revenues, houses, libraries, vestments, and all other necessary provisions to travel or stay at home; nay, *even at this time they intend to hold a concurrent assembly with this Parliament.*

"But now since his sacred Majesty hath extended his Royal Arm, and *since the Lords of his Council have by their authority caused this nest of wasps to be digged out of the earth,* and their convocations to be scattered; and since your Lordships joyn in courage and resolution, at least to reduce this people to their lawful restraint, that they may do no more hurt, we conceive great hope and comfort that the Almighty God will from henceforth prosper our endeavours both at home and abroad."

Among the papers seized at Clerkenwell, and still preserved in the State Paper Office, are several which are of importance to the history of the internal government and policy of the Roman Catholics in this country;[a] but the amount of treasonable matter which they contain must have sadly tantalized the appetite of the state lawyers. On the whole it may be admitted that these documents throw far less discredit upon the Jesuits than they do upon the unworthy state-craft with which it was attempted to convert the "Discovery" into an engine of political influence upon the Parliament.

The "Parliament of Jesuits" imagined by Mr. Secretary Cooke is by no means compacted into a substantial existence by the evidence of these papers, though it is apparent that they alone furnished the slight materials which were employed to conjure up the phantom. We have seen that the Secretary ventured to assert in the House of Commons that there was another intended Parliament of Jesuits and their abettors, that the truth of that intention was shown

[a] They are described either by the writer of the Discovery (see pp. 23-30), or in the list appended at the close of these papers.

by letters sent to Rome, that they were to assemble on St. Joseph's day, and that "it was called in the letter the Oriental day." The two documents which suggested these fantasies are among those which belonged to Father Parre. In one of them St. Joseph's day (the 17th of March) is appointed for a meeting, but with no more important object than the ordinary business of the house—the promotion of novices. In the other,—which is not a letter sent to Rome, but one written from London by Arthur Sanders to Father Parre then at some place near Barnstaple,—the phrase occurs, (underscored, perhaps by Mr. Secretary's pen, or else by some one to direct his eye,) of which he made his perverted application to the day of St. Joseph. The words are not, however, "Oriental day," but "Orientall joye," and their real allusion is to a religious service which was to be celebrated on behalf of three members of the fraternity who had consummated the crown of martyrdom in the mission to Japan. The Secretary's mistake in this point was, perhaps, not entirely wilful; but, if not so, he fell into a ridiculous error. The greater part of the letter is on a variety of private business, and it had been written a month before the seizure. To remove all question as to the character of its contents, a copy of the whole will be laid before the reader.[b]

There can therefore be no doubt entertained upon the amount of misrepresentation and exaggeration exercised by Sir John Cooke in his view of this matter. But, as with many other of the crooked policies of that unhappy reign, the undue excitement which was thus created recoiled with redoubled vengeance on the heads of its authors. These consequences, which are more fully developed in

[b] See this letter printed hereafter, p. 49.

the subsequent debates of the House of Commons, are thus briefly noticed by Prynne:—

"A little before the beginning of this parliament, a Colledge of Jesuits who kept together in commons, and had their officers and books of account duly kept, was discovered in Clerkenwell, neere the church; their books, vestments, reliques, were seized on, and some of their persons (hid in private corners of their colledge) apprehended by Justice Long, and sent to Newgate. But when they were to be arraigned, they were, by their powerfull friends at Court (I know not by what warrants and speciall commands), released upon baile, and conveyed out of harmes way, to the great offence and discontent both of the people and parliament, which examined this grand abuse, but could not apprehend the Jesuits to doe exemplary justice on them, so potent were their patrons.

"Among their papers there was found the copy of a Letter newly directed by them to their Father Rector at Bruxels, the extract whereof I met with in the now arch-bishop's study, thus indorsed with his own hand—

March, 1628. *A Jesuit's Letter sent to the Rector at Bruxels, about the ensuing Parliament.*

"Wherein there are these memorable passages, not fit to be concealed—"

Prynne then gives a considerable portion of the Letter which is inserted hereafter, pp. 31—40. It will probably strike most readers that this composition has more the appearance of a fictitious representation of the supposed views and designs of the Jesuits, than of a letter actually transmitted in confidence by one of their community. In favour of its being regarded as genuine, it may be remarked that there is some appearance of its having been originally written in Latin, and thus under a veil which its translation has removed. The

translator may have deepened the apparent candour of its sentiments, and may have taken considerable liberties of interpolation; whilst its obscurity also tends to show that he has partially misunderstood the original writer. In one important matter this seems evident. In the passage where "mutacion" is urged as a primary object of the parliament, it is clear that the original word was *mutuatio*,[a] and implied a Loan, such being the financial measure which the Crown had already attempted to enforce, upon the royal authority alone, and for which it was presumed the ministry would now require the sanction of Parliament, in lieu of the Benevolence or Subsidy, which had been customary for many preceding parliaments.[b]

A stronger suspicion, however, rests upon this document from the circumstance that, whilst the writer of the Discovery carefully enumerates and describes all the more important papers which were found in the Jesuits' house, there is not among them one which answers to the description of the Letter in question. One of the manuscript copies of it in the British Museum is preceded by another document, which professes to be a dispatch from a committee of the Privy Council to Lord Falkland, then Lord Deputy in Ireland, transmitting both a "coppie of the Discovery at Clerkenwell," and also a treasonable paper displaying the Papists' great spleen towards the Duke of Buckingham. The contents of this dispatch (which is printed hereafter at p. 31) are so strange, particularly the expressions it attributes to the Duke of Buckingham, that it may be supposed to have been forged by the same hand as the Jesuit's Letter, with the design of conferring on the latter a stamp of authenticity. The date

[a] See p. 36, and the further remark in the note on the word *reluctation*.

[b] Carte, History of England, vol. iv. pp. 180-182, has given "some account and defence of loans," suggested by this occasion.

it bears is also inconsistent with its claim to credit as a genuine state paper. It is the 2d of March, whereas the arrest of the Jesuits did not take place before the 15th, and the Discovery and Jesuit's Letter could not have been prepared to be sent to Ireland for some days later.

In all that was said on the subject in the following Session of Parliament (that of 1628–9,) no allusion is made to "the Jesuit's Letter," and on the whole it may probably be classed as a political imposture. In that capacity it doubtless had considerable effect; for, though not "sett to publick view," it was evidently widely circulated in manuscript. Archbishop Laud had a copy in his study, from whence Prynne derived it. There are at least three contemporary copies in the British Museum, and one in the State Paper Office. It was considered sufficiently important in 1643 to be printed in that year[a] as a pamphlet: and Rushworth copied Prynne's version of it into his Historical Collections. Under all the circumstances, this Letter is so intimately connected with the history of the Discovery, that it has been thought desirable to annex it. All the copies, including the pamphlet of 1643, are exceedingly inaccurate and corrupt. By collation, however, its sense has been restored to the nearly perfect state in which it is now edited.

After the prorogation of the Parliament, in June 1628, it may be presumed that the political use of "the Discovery," on the part of the Government, would have been no longer entertained.

It was not, however, so readily dismissed by those whose alarms had been wantonly excited, and whose zealous religious animosities had received no adequate satisfaction. No legal process was taken against the prisoners until the month of December. Three of the

[a] This was at the period when the Protestants received an additional alarm from the mission of Panzani, already mentioned in the note at p. 4.

Jesuits were then put upon their trial at the Middlesex sessions, and one was convicted, but his name does not transpire.

The Parliament met for their second session upon the 20th of January 1628-9. On the 13th of February there was a Committee for Religion, Mr. Pym in the chair: when Sir Walter Earle re-introduced this subject. After remarking that there were then, besides the Queen's mass, two other masses daily in the Queen's Court, so that it was grown common in the out-facing Jesuits, and common in discourse, to say, Will you go to mass? or, Have you been to mass at Somerset House? there coming 500 at a time from mass,—Sir Walter desired it might be known by what warrant the Jesuits lately in Newgate were released.

After a long speech by Sir Richard Grosvenor, lamenting the unsatisfactory results of two royal proclamations, and the abortion of the bill of last session against Recusants, and some further remarks from Sir Robert Philips and Mr. Coriton, Mr. Selden moved, That these things may be debated in order. And first, for releasing the Jesuits that were arraigned at Newgate, whereof one was condemned. He added, They were ten in number, which were priests, who had a College here in London about Clerkenwell: and these men could not attempt these acts of boldness, but that they have great countenance.

Mr. Secretary Cooke replied, and, affecting to coincide with the objects of the committee, he stated "that a minister of state had notice of those ten, and this College intended to be kept at Clerkenwell. That it is plain there was a place appointed for this College, and orders and reliques prepared. The minister made the King acquainted with it; and I should not do my duty if I did not declare how much his Majesty was affected with it. His Majesty referred it to the special care of the Lords of the Council; who, examining

the same, sent those ten persons to Newgate, and gave order to Mr. Attorney to prosecute the laws against them. That this College was first at Edmonton, removed thence to Camberwell, and from thence to Clerkenwell."

A committee was appointed to inquire respecting the trial of the priests. They immediately proceeded on this service, and the very next day Sir Thomas Hobby reported that they had examined the Keeper of Newgate, who had informed them that he had on the 1st of December received ten prisoners suspected to be priests, and that on the 3d three of them were indicted for priests, of whom one was condemned, but afterwards reprieved; for the night before the intended execution Mr. Recorder sent a warrant to stay it, which was seconded by a warrant from Lord Chief Justice Hyde. All the rest of the prisoners refused the oath of allegiance, and it was ordered that they should be kept to the next sessions. The Earl of Dorset sent word to the keeper that his Majesty's pleasure was that they should be delivered; and a warrant came from Mr. Attorney to bring the priests before him, who took sureties of them to appear twenty days after notice at the Council board; and so they were discharged.

Hereupon Sir Nathaniel Rich expressed his confident belief that the grace of the King had been abused; and, as the Privy Councillors of the House must know whether it was by his Majesty's directions or no, he moved that Mr. Secretary Cooke might first declare his knowledge in the matter.

Mr. Secretary Cooke thereupon made a long declaration to the House concerning those priests, and the discovery of them; and produced the papers that were found in the house amongst them upon search; and he said, that it did appear that they were Jesuits and

Priests, by the inventory of their goods: they had their chapel and library replenished, a common kitchen, buttery, and cellar, their household-stuff is all marked with J. S., there is a monthly book of their daily expenses, and a contracted annual account in Latin, under the Rector's hand. It appeareth that they had purchased 200*l.* lands per ann. and 60*l.* in money did remain over and above their expenses.[a] There were also divers letters, directions, and orders from a Popish Father from Rome, and all parts beyond the seas. They had appointed a time of meeting, which was St. Joseph's Day, and then they should have said mass. All their papers were delivered to Mr. Attorney, who recommended them to Mr. Long.

Sir John Elliot then made a long speech, successively censuring the conduct of the Attorney, of the Earl of Dorset, and of Mr Recorder, and in this he was seconded by Sir Francis Seymour. Mr. Cross the pursuivant was then examined as to the delivery of the prisoners, and it was ordered by the House, That Mr. Recorder[b] should be rather sent unto to be examined, than to be sent for as a delinquent, in regard he had formerly had the honour to be set in the chair.

Afterwards Mr. Long the magistrate was called, and stated that when he offered at the sessions the evidence against them, by order from Mr. Attorney, the Lord Chief Justice Richardson interrupted him, and told him, He must speak to the point in issue, whether priests or no priests; and thereupon the judges consulted amongst themselves, and so arose.

Mr. Selden declared, That he was present at the sessions, and plain

[a] Really 160*l.*: see hereafter, p. 25. What evidence there was of the Jesuits having purchased lands is not apparent.

[b] Sir Heneage Finch, who had been Speaker of the preceding Parliament of 1626.

treason was proved, and nothing done in it: and finally the House resolved to refer the further examination of the business to a Select Committee.

At the Committee for Religion two days after, Mr. Stroud moved, That the Lord Chief Justice may be called to give an account of his stay of justice, in the execution of the condemned priests; which he ought not have done, though his Majesty signified his pleasure to the contrary.

The Chancellor of the Duchy remarked, That this was a thing ordinary for a Chief Justice to do in Queen Elizabeth's and King James's times; as also a declaration in the Star-chamber, that all condemned priests should be sent to the castle of Wisbech; and from hence (though the King had given no order for the reprieve) he might have taken warrant for his proceedings.

Mr. Selden then made a Report from the Committee which had undertaken the further examination of Mr. Long, concerning the proceedings at the sessions; "whereby it plainly appeared that the evidence tendered in the court at Newgate did clearly testify these men to be priests; yet the Lord Chief Justice Richardson did reject the same, against the sense of the rest of the judges and justices present; whereby it is plain he dealt underhand with some of the Jesuits." The House then ordered that two members should be sent to each judge that was present at the sessions at Newgate; who were said to be the Lord Chief Justice of the King's-bench, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Justices Whitlock, Jones, and Crooke.

Sir Henry Martin made report, that he, with others, had been to the Recorder of London, to know by what warrant he made stay of execution of the priest, and had ascertained that Mr. Recorder gave no directions; but the warrant came from the Lord Chief Justice

Hyde. Whereupon Sir H. Martin, with the rest of the committee, went to the said Lord Chief Justice Hyde, who told them, That he gave his said warrant by command from his Majesty.

Sir F. Seymour made report, That he and others had visited Mr. Attorney, and after some difficulty had received his written explanation of his conduct of the prosecution, to the following purpose:[a] "I received order from the Council to proceed against the priests; and I did, accordingly, proceed against them, and I gave directions to have them brought before me; and took their examinations and the informations; and I sent for Mr. Long, and desired him to take special order therein. I know not, nor ever heard, of any land conveyed to the College, but only in general; and I gave directions to intitle the King to the goods. I understood an indictment was preferred against three of them for treason, and the rest of præmunire; and I, receiving command from his Majesty for their bailment, supposed them bailable." Hereupon it was ordered by the House, That such priests as are not convicted and condemned, should be proceeded against.

The next day report was made by the several members who went to make inquiry of the judges respecting the trial. Mr. Selden reported, That he had in the first instance examined Mr. Long, the magistrate, who stated that the same day they were to be tried, he told the Lord Chief Justice Hyde, that he had divers papers that did conduce to prove them priests or Jesuits, and he said he was ready to read them; and thereupon the Lord Richardson said, We are upon a point, whether priests or no priests, and they must have right done them. Another judge said, We came to do right to all. And the

[a] Sir Robert Heath's answer is printed at length in Rushworth's Historical Collections, fol. 1682, p. 657.

Lord Richardson asked him, If he had any other evidence. He said, He had no other but those papers, which he thought would give clear satisfaction. The Lord Richardson said, All that was but discourse: he said, What say you to the point, priests or no priests? To which Mr. Long answered, I saw not these men made priests; but in the house where they were taken were found copes and vestments for priests: and I am ready to open all this, if you please, or to answer any questions which you shall ask concerning such things as I have read in the papers. The papers contained divers examinations, and yet none were suffered to be read but one; and that not being conceived a full proof, the rest were refused.

On the reception of this report, Sir Robert Philips indignantly exclaimed, Never was the like example or precedent: if the judges give us not better satisfaction, they themselves will be parties.

Sir Thomas Hobby reported from the Lord Chief Justice Hyde, That he doth not remember any papers tendered by Mr. Long were rejected; or that he affirmed they were dangerous persons, and a College of Jesuits; but, howsoever, Mr. Long tendered nothing to prove them so, but that he held divers papers in his hand.

Mr. Wandesford reported from the Lord Chief Justice Richardson, who said, Mr. Long did discourse of the place and house, but did not press the reading of the papers; neither knew he what was in the papers, nor doth he know of anything to prove the persons priests.

The reports from the other judges, the justices Jones, Whitlocke, and Crooke, were still more unsatisfactory. They were to the general effect that each of them had come late to court, and understood not the business that was going on.

The House resolved that Mr. Jones should be summoned to attend on Thursday the 19th of February, in order to make good his charge

against the judges.[a] It is not, however, recorded whether any further proceedings in the matter then took place; and the Parliament itself was hastening to its premature dissolution.

On the 25th the Sub-Committee for Religion presented to the House the "Heads of Articles to be insisted on," in the preamble to which they alleged the "extraordinary insolence" of the Recusants; "for instance, the late meeting of a College of Jesuits in Clerkenwell, and the strange proceedings thereupon used in favour of them." But on that very day the House was adjourned by the King's command to the 2d of March, on which day occurred the last memorable struggle of this Parliament, when the Speaker was violently held in his chair whilst the Commons passed their indignant protest: 1. Against innovation in Religion; and 2. against the collection of Tonnage and Poundage, unsanctioned by Parliament. The House did not sit again, and on the 10th of the same month it was finally dissolved,—not to re-assemble for twelve long years, but then to maintain a more successful struggle against arbitrary power.

Such was the close of the transactions consequent upon the Discovery of the house of Jesuits at Clerkenwell, an occurrence of trifling import in itself, but the origin of much bitter political strife, and one of the forerunners of the gravest consequences, as contributing to the alienation of the sovereign from his constitutional advisers.

Among our historical writers, few have noticed the Discovery of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell. Echard gives some short account of it, derived from Prynne. Mr. D'Israeli, in his Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First, has briefly noticed it, and has taken a correct view of the parliamentary tactics of "the wily

[a] The proceedings of which the foregoing is an abstract will be found at length in Hansard's Parliamentary History, 1807, vol. ii. cols. 467—477.

Secretary;" but he has partially misconstrued and misrepresented [a] what Cooke said.

The house of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell is unnoticed by Dodd the Roman Catholic historian of England; [b] nor have the local historians, the Messrs. Lysons and Mr. Cromwell, been aware of its existence. Dodd merely remarks that, during the war with France, "the misunderstandings of the two nations brought the Catholics under a severe persecution, which was carried on by appointing certain officers called Pursuivants, who had almost an unlimited power to search their houses, and distress them upon any occasion."

The present series of papers was first suggested by the accidental perusal of the copy of the Discovery preserved in the British Museum (MS. Addit. 5506.) This led to a search among the other stores of the national library, during which the Jesuit's Letter and that addressed to Lord Falkland have been found. The Register of the Privy Council [c] furnished the true dates of the transaction; and, on inquiry at the State Paper Office, the original draft of the Discovery and the appendix of papers to which it refers were found in an attached parcel: as well as the second Inventory of the furniture at Clerkenwell made by order of the Privy Council. An account of these documents is added, with copies of some of the most interesting.

[a] "Secretary Cooke was by no means averse to frighten them into supplies. In the last Parliament he had discovered 'a whole parliament of Jesuits sitting in a fair-hanged vault in Clerkenwell.'" (Vol. ii. p. 90.) Cooke made no such statement in reference "to the last parliament," and nothing about "a fair-hanged vault." This phrase Mr. D'Israeli borrowed from the letter addressed to Mr. Mead (see p. 6).

[b] At the last moment I have found it noticed in More's History of the English Mission, in a passage which is appended at the close of these pages.

[c] See the extracts given hereafter from the Register of the Privy Council: a national record whose important contents have recently been made more available by the excellent indexes constructed under the superintendence of C. C. Greville, Esq. Clerk of the Council.

THE DISCOVERY

OF THE

JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL.

[WRITTEN BY SIR ROBERT HEATH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.]

(Original in State Paper Office. Copy in Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. 5506, p. 67.)

ABOUT Christmas last Humphrey Cross, one of the messengers in ordinarie, gave mee notice, that the neighbours in St. John's saw provisions caried into the corner house uppon the broadway above Clerkenwel, but knewe none that dwelt there.[a] In March following, about the beginning of the Parliament, Crosse brought word that divers lights were observed in the howse, and that some companie were gathered thither. The time considered, I thought fitt to make noe further delay, and therefore gave warrant to the sayd Crosse with Mr. Longe and the constables next adjoyning, to enter the house and to search what persons resorted thither, and to what end they concealed their being there. At their entrie they found one that called himselfe Thomas Latham, who pretended to be keeper of the howse for the Earle of Shrewsburie. They found another named George Kemp, said to be the gardener; and a woman called Margaret Isham. But when they desired to goe further into the upper roomes, which (whilst they had made way into the hall) were all shutt upp and made fast, Latham tould them plainly that if they offred to goe further they would find resistance, and should doe it at their perils. They thereuppon repared to my house and desired more help, and a more ample warrant for their proceedings. And then both

[a] At this place the original draft contains the following passage, erased by the pen:— "Soone after the Erle of Malborough, who formerly lived in that howse, had a like advertisement by Mrs. Gawdy: and so had the now Bishop of London by other meanes."

a warrant was granted from the Councell boorde: and the sheriffes of London were sent for theire assistance. But by this protraction they within the upper roomes gott advantage to retire themselves by secret passages into theire vaults or lurking-places, which themselves called their securities: so as when the officers came up they found no man above staires save only a sick man in his bed, with one servant attending him. The sick man called himselfe by the name of Weeden, who is since discovered to be truely called Plowden. And the servant named himselfe John Penington, as in the examinations may appeare. More they found not, til going downe againe into the cellars, Crosse espied a brick wall newly made, which he caused to be perced, and there within the vault they found Daniel Stanhop, whom I take to be Father Bankes, the Rector of their College, George Holland alias Guy Holt, Joseph Underhill alias Thomas Poulton, Robert Beaumond, and Edward Moore the priest. And the next day, in the like lurkinge place, they found Edward Parre. All theis Mr. Longe examined, but could drawe nothinge from them saving formal denyalls that they were priests, or had taken any orders from the sea of Rome, or that they knewe one another, or that they came thither otherwise then casually uppon acquaintance with Latham, who pretendeth that the howse is the Earl his master's, and that the household stuffe, Latin bookes, and most of the pictures are his lordshipp's: but that the massing stuffe, Jesuits' pictures, English books and manuscripts are all his owne, given him by his dead master, and by a friend beyond the seas. Yet upon their examinations they confessed themselves to bee recusants, and contradicted one another, and ministred matter sufficient for their legal conviction and for confiscation of the goods to his Majestie at the assizes att Newgate, when they were indicted and proceeded against.

And that they are Jesuits in deede, and the house really hired and used for a College of Jesuits to exercise their religion, and other unlawfull practises against our church and state, appeareth, first, by the inventory of the goods and utensils; secondly, by the accompts

of their receipts and issues; and thirdly by the memorialls and directions of their government, which are all found with them, and are ready to be shewed.

The Inventorie [A] is taken of everie roome in the house,[a] by which it appeareth that they have a chappel fitted with altars, images, reliques, and pictures, and massing stuff of all sorts; that they have a common librarie of many popish books, printed and written; that they have severall chambers and studies, furnished for their lodgings; that they have a common kitchen with offices and provisions of brass and pewter, and of wood and coale; that they have a common buttrie, with tableclothes, trenchers, napkins, knives, forks, glasses, salts, and spoons, answerable to their number; and a cellar of beere and wine; besides a confectionarie of spices and sweetmeats. And to shew who are the owners in proprietie of theis things, their howshold stuff is marked with S. O. as belonging to the Societie, and theire pewter with S. J. for the Societie of Jesus.

The Accompts [B] which were also found in their studies are in severall books and notes. First, there is a rough booke containing the monthly disbursements of theire cater clerke of the kitchen, setting downe particularly all things in English. Secondly, there are divers loose notes [C] of particular men's expences abroad, some in English, some in Latine; and thirdly, there is a contracted formal Accompt [D] of the sayd monthly expences of the house in Latin, audited and allowed by Father Banxius, the Rector of the sayd howse.

Theis books contayne the accompts of the sayd Societie in a former howse they had at Edmondton from January, 1624, after their accompte,[b] till the end of December following, when the accompts for that howse were made up thus:—

[a] Most of the documents referred to by the capital letters are still attached to the original draft of The Discovery in her Majesty's State Paper Office. See a further description of them at the close of these papers.

[b] The title of the book—Summa expensarum mense Januarii 1624 Edmuntonij ex tempore quo facta est visitatio.

		£	s.	d.
Receipts:—	Remains of last accompt and alms .	108	13	2
	Receats from Mr. Heis . . .	44	0	0
	Receapts from lodgers . . .	75	0	0
	Total .	227	13	2
Expenses:—	Bread and drinke	22	13	6
	Wine	11	16	4
	Flesh	57	14	0
	Wood and coales	23	10	4
	House rent	44	0	0
	Servants	18	0	0
	Subsidie and payments to the Kinge .	7	15	8
	Spice and sugar	9	3	0
	Poore and church	6	7	2
	Candles, salte, &c.	17	15	3
	Hire of horses and things about the house	8	15	1
	Total .	227	13	3

Soe the Expenses balance the Receipts.

After December 1624, according to their accompt, which begineth the yeare in Januarie, they left that howse at Edmondton, and setled not againe til May following, when they had taken a new howse of one Mrs. Milberie at Cammerwell, where they continued twentie moneths, as by the sayd bookes of their monthly accompts is manifest. For the title therof is this:—Initium hujus domus 2° Maii, 1625. And so pursuing the moneths in order in the end, they are audited thus:—Summa omnium expensarum hujus domus Camerwell spatio viginti mensium, hoc est, ab initio Maii 1625 usque ad initium Januarii 1627.

	£	s.	d.
In panem et cervisiam	38	17	0
In vinum	21	0	0

	£	s.	d.
In carnes	63	1	8
In ligna et carbones	43	10	3
In pisces, ova, lac, butyrum . . .	21	10	3
In conductionem domus	45	0	0
In servos	27	0	0
In aromata, saccarum, &c.	17	13	6
In pauperes, parœciam, res templi, &c. .	9	7	6
In candelas, sal, &c.	23	19	2
In equos et alia circa domum . . .	15	16	3
Summa expositorum a Maio 1626 usque ad Januarium 1627 . .	137	1	5
Summa totalis omnium expensarum hujus domus	346	18	1

Ita est, Ri: Banxius.

After this collection of the 20 months' expenses, followeth in the next page a briefe note of all the accompt of both howses in this manner:—

Rationes hujus domus ab ultima visitatione facta initio Januarij 1624 usque ad presentem Januarium 1627.

	£	s.	d.
Accepta ex residuo computus præcedentis . .	60	0	0
Ex censu fundationis et alias a R. P. provinciali .	294	0	0
From our lodgers	75	0	0
Summa acceptorum . .	429	0	0
Summa expositorum . .	574	11	3
Exposita superant accepta ex censu fundationis et a R^{do}. P. Provin^{li}. et dominabus	205	11	3
Exposita ex elemozynis incertis ad censum annuum 20^{li} per. ann.	250	0	0
Restat in pecunia parata	160	0	0

Nullum contraxit debitum.

Nichil domui debetur.

Ita est, Ri: Banxius.

Besides the above mentioned accompts of the clerk or cater, and theis Latin summarie accompts audited by the rector Banxius, their is found a breife certificate or collection of the state of this howse for the year 1625 [E], which seemeth a direction for other yeares, and was to be presented (as it may seeme) to the Provincial, by the title whereof the name and nature of this college doth clearly appeare, which is this—

Status rerum temporalium Domus Probationis Sti. Ignatii Societatis Jesu 1625.

And soe follow theire revenew, certaine and uncertaine, theire receipts and expences. By which it may appeare how they yearely purchase increase of revenue; and how they furnish their howse with linen and wollen, and with other necessarie utensils at the howse charge. The paper itself is fit to be perused.

This and the former accompts contain sufficient evidence of the affaires of this Societie til January last past, when there followed another interruption by the death of their landlady Mrs. Milberrie, of whom the house was hired at Cammerwel. And then (as it semeth) they removed to this last howse at Clerkenwel, which was not setled till the first of March, as may appeare by the last pages of the English accompts of theire clerke or cater, which beareth this title: "The new Howse at London since the 2° of March," where the words "at London" are rased, yet soe as they may be read; and the particulars of the first page are for brick, tile, lime, workmanship, &c.; and the second for carrying stuff from Mrs. Dowthies; for washinge the new howse, for iron works, locks, keys, aundirons, fire-shovels, tonges, and such like; and for the table, and a striped bed; for wood, coales, beere, &c. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that they then removed to this new howse, and that the furnitures are not the Erle of Shrewsberies as is pretended, but bought at the howse charge. And that this is indeed that Howse of Probation of the Jesuits according to the title.

Besides the inventorie and accompts the thirde proofe is as evident

by the memorialls, orders, and directions for the government of the members of this Societie, which are very remarqueable.[a]

1. There is a generall memorial of directions [F] from the Provinciall of the Jesuits to all the Superiors of this Societie, containinge 13 heades or rules.

2. A spetiall direction from the Provinciall congregation held 1625, to the Father Rector of this Societie, sent unto him by the Provinciall Father Blunt, containing eight precepts.

3. Spetiall directions from the sayd Provinciall to the Master of the Novices of this Societie, in six orders.

4. Spetiall observances for the Minister of the Societie, being three in number.

5. Observances for all the Societie, in four points.

6. A post memoriall of directions and orders after the above named provinciall congregation, given to the Rectors in six heads, and to the Superiors of the Societie in four heads.

All which are recommended by a letter [G] from Richard Blunt, their Provinciall, to Father Stannoppe, whom he calleth Reverendum in Christo Patrem: for, though the superscription of this letter be torne, yet the last sillable of Stannoppe remaineth, and sufficiently discovereth him to be the Rector of this Societie for the present. And he may also seeme to be the same with Banxius that signeth the accompts.

Besides theis directions from the Provinciall, there is found a letter from Odoardus Alocampi [H], written in the name of the said Provintiall: whereby the faculties granted to the Superiors of this order are set down in 10 heads.

[a] The Latin titles of these papers are given in the margin as follow:—

1. Memoriale ad omnes Superiores 1625. And under: Ex mandato R. P. Provincialis.
2. Memoriale relictum P. Rectori S^{ti} Ignatii per congregationem Provincialem 1625.
3. Observanda a M^{ro} Novitiorum.
4. Observanda a Ministro S^{ti} Ignatii.
5. Observanda ab omnibus S^{ti} Ignatii.
6. Memoriale traditum rectoribus a Congreg. Provinciali 1625.

All subscribed R. Blunt, Superioribus omnibus.

There is also a later Memoriall [I] of 16 particular heads of directions to the whole Societie, extracted by the said Alocampi. And another of 10 heads in Latin, for directions of their letters to be written by the Consultors of the Societie to the General of the Jesuits [K]. And another in English, wherein these 10 heads are enlarged to 13 [L].

There is also a letter [M] from R. Man, which seemeth to be from the Provinciall R. Blunt, because his former letter to Stannopp is of the same hande. And this letter, though it have no superscription, yet may seeme to be to the same Stannopp; because it containeth directions to him as Superior or Rector of this Societie, first, concerning yearly accompts to be sent to the General, whereof that of the year 1625 seemeth to be a precedent; and secondly, concerning their manner of cariage towards the bishop of Calcedon, whom the Pope hath set over the clergie of England; and thirdly, concerning releife to be sent to the English colleges at St. Omer's and Lovain.

There is also a letter [N] of Mutius Vitellosius, General of the Jesuits in Rome, to father Thomas Salisburie, one of this Societie, and happily of this number, mentioninge also father Robert Frevel, another of the same note.

Lastly, there is a note of direction [O] by way of advice how to answer such questions concerning their going to church, or receaving, or other religious observances, which the churchwardens or others may demand of them.

And to theis orders and directions there are annexed two regesters or lists of the names of all the Jesuits in this province [P], one without title, but the other distinguisheth them by theire orders and degrees, and by the times of their apparance.

Soe, first, by the inventories and sorts of their goods; secondly, by the amount of their receipts and expences; and thirdly, by the orders and directions for their government, it hath appeared that this house was made a College of Jesuits.

Now, further to shew that their proceedings and practises there

were against the peace and setled government of the state, is manifest in theis points:

They doe not only refuse to take the oath of allegiance, but write letters against it to cause others to refuse, as by two particular letters [Q] found amongst their papers doth appeare.

They acknowledg subjection to a foren power, and have setled a government amongst themselves subalternal therunto; and as by this government they divide themselves and labor to withdraw all Papists in generall from their allegiance to his Majestie, soe by a faction against the secular priests they labour to divide the Papists amongst themselves, and to suppress all those that will hold any conformity to the state. Which, by a letter from the Pope [R] to the Bishop of Calcedon, the lay Catholiques answere to the said Bishopp [S], an answere to that letter [T], with ecclesiasticall canons [V] propounded to the bishopp, (all found amongst their papers,) doth manifestly appeare.

They erect new fraternities and ecclesiastical observances and orders, contrarie to the lawes, namely, one they call the Sodalitie of the Chapelet of Our Lady [W], whereof manie little printed books were found in this howse to be scattered abroad.

They spread false newes of lying miracles pretended to be done by the fathers of their order, as two letters doe shewe [X].

They put in actuall practise the orders of their profession, and have their dayes of solemne meeting to promote the novices of theire Societie; particularly this time of their discovery they had appointed St. Josephes Day the 20 of March for that solemnity, as appeareth by a letter from Wingfeild [a] to father Parre [Y], and by a

[a] The two papers signed by Wingfield, referred to by the letter Y, are as follow:—

Most deare S^r. These are only to advertise you that my M^r desyreth youre presence here in towne about the 10^th or the eleventh of March next ensueinge w^thout faile, that so preparinge your selfe you may togeather w^th some others be promoted upon St. Joseph's day. Faile not to come; and lett me have a part in your best remembrances. I am,

13^th of Feb. 1628. Yours ever and all,

To his very lovinge friende, EDW. WINGF^D.

M^r Edward Parr, give these.

copie of a monitorial [a] sent abroad by the said Wingfeild by commandment of the Provinciall, that everie one against that day should say a masse and commend to God in theire prayers a matter of so great waight, which how farre further it might extend is not yet come to light.[a]

Lastly, the resort of Recusants which have planted themselves round about this house, as Mr. Long's particular register doth shew [Z], giveth good grounds of suspition that they purposed to make head, and make a body here.[b]

[a] *(On another slip of paper.)* Singuli dicant unum sac. et in reliquis orationibus comẽdabunt dnõ Deo negotium quoddam magni momenti.

Man^to^. R. P. Pro^lis^. EDW. WINGF^D^.

[b] The paper marked Z is printed hereafter in p. 46. It is evidently an authentic list of the members of the Society of Jesus, found among their own papers. It has no title, but I believe the indorsement is theirs, the words "found in Clerkenwel, 15 March, 1627, per Long," having been added in a different ink. It does not therefore answer to Sir Robert Heath's description in the text, which seems to imply a register kept by Mr. Long of all the Recusants living in Clerkenwell. Either the Attorney-General misapprehended the meaning of the word "found" as applicable to the persons named instead of the paper itself; or possibly this is one of the documents which ought to have been indorsed with the letter P (see p. 28), and which I have not otherwise seen.

A LETTER FROM SOME OF THE LORDS

Of the Privy Councill of England to the Lord Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

(Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. 4791, p. 37, b.)

My Lord,

Knowing that his sacred Majestie and his Privy Councill assembled for the calling of this Parliament have formerly given you the reasons and urgent necessities for the same, we omit it; but by this late Discovery, here enclosed, wee are jealous that most of the members herein chosen be of a factious crue, and soe you will find by the coppie of the Discovery at Clarkenwell. There being taken amongst of Recusants, divers Jesuits, amongst whom severall treasonable papers were found, this being one amongst the rest, in which you may perceive the Papists' great spleen to his Grace the Duke, also the treasonable conspiracies against his Majestie, forraign and domestique. Notwithstanding the Discovery thereof, for divers reasons wee have not sett this enclosed to publick view, his Grace and some others having acquainted his Majestie that they will undertake to find out the bottome of this mistery, and thereby pollitickly have advised his Majestie to permit the sitting of this Parliament from the 17th of this instant, the better to find out theire inclinations, and how they are affected according to this Discovery.

Wee are sensible now Ireland was in some danger of an invasion by the French Papists and the Papists in Ireland, and they have held correspondence together.

The Jesuits be not onely a subtill societie, but also an audacious sort of people, fearing no punishment, noe, not the halter itself; soe

that wee are at a nonplus how to banish or to devise a meanes to chase away these wasps[a] from his Majesties dominions. His Grace the Duke propounded in councell the other day noe punishment fitter for the driveing out these sort of cattle then by gelding them, and gave very good reasons for it, one of which was, shame ever after to shew their faces; the other was, being gelded they could not exercise theire priestly function according to the ecclesiastick lawes, wanting theyr members. Your clergy of Ireland opposeing the Popish offertures lately made unto his Majestie (which your Lordship unto us have signified) have not onely, through God's mercy, protected that dominion, but alsoe saved his Majestie and this nation from future broyles. Thus concluding, wee bid your Lordship heartily farewell.

Your Lordship's humble servants,

SUFFOLKE. SALISBURY. MORTON. DURHAM.[b]

Whyte Hall, March the 2*d*, 1627.

[a] The same term which was used by Secretary Cooke in his speech at the conference with the Lords: see before, p. 8.

[b] The signatures Morton and Durham are not what might be expected in a genuine document of this nature. The latter, if meant for the Bishop of Durham, would scarcely have come last. Morton is a name not familiar to the history of the period. On the date some remarks have been already made in p. 12.

A LETTER FOUNDE AMONGST SOME JESUITES,

Lately taken att CLERKENWELL, LONDON, directed to the FATHER RECTOR at BRUXELLES.

(MS. Harl. 1323, p. 37, and MS. Harl. 3786, f. 28. A copy in Her Majesty's State Paper Office. Edition printed for Ralph Rounthwait, 1643.[a] Imperfect copies in Prynne's Hidden Workes of Darkenes brought to publick Light, and in Rushworth's Historical Collections; also in MS. Addit. (Brit. Mus.) 4791, f. 38. All the copies abound with errors which materially affect the sense, and that in the MS. Harl. 1323 perhaps shews as many as the rest; but, because at the same time it presents many of the best and apparently original readings, it is here adopted for the text. The more important variations of the several copies—many of them absurd errors—are notified in the margin.)

FATHER RECTOR,

Let not the damp[b] of astonishment seaze upon your most deare and jealous[c] soule, in apprehendinge the suddayne and unexpected calling of this Parliamente. We have not opposed, but rather furthered it, soe that wee hope as much in this parliamente as ever wee feared any in queene Elizabethes dayes.

You must knowe the Councell is engaged to assiste the Kinge by waye of prerogatyve, in case the parliamentarye waye should fayle.

You shall see this Parliamente will resemble the pelican which takes a pleasure to digge out with her owne byll her owne bowells. The elections of the knyghtes and burgesses have been in such con-

[a] "The Copy of a Letter addressed to the Father Rector at Brussels found among some Iesuites taken at London about the third yeere of His Majesties Raigne. Wherein is manifested, that the Iesuites from time to time have been the only Incendiaries and contrivers of the miseries and distractions of this Kingdome. And how their designes are, by a perpetuall motion, carried on by the same Counsels at this time as formerly they have been. London, Printed for Ralph Rounthwait, 1643." 4to. pp. 8. And on the second title, the same more briefly with this addition: "Shewing there is a perpetuall mischievous motion of the Jesuits for England's ruine."

[b] dump *in edit.* 1643.

[c] ardent and zealous, *edit.* 1643, *and other copies.*

fusion, and [by] such apparent faction, as that wee were wounte heeretofore to procure with industrye and arte (when the Spanishe matche was in treatye), nowe it breakes out naturallye as a botche or boyle, and spittes and speues out its [own] ranckor and venome.

You may remember howe that [most famous and] immortall statesman the Count of Gondemar fed Kinge James his fancye, and rocked him asleep with the softe sweete sounde of peace, to keepe upp the Spanish treatye.

Lykewise, wee were [much] bound to some emynent statesmen [a] of our owne countrye, [for gaining [b]] tyme in procureinge those advantagious cessations of armes in the Pallatynate, and in [advancinge [c]] the worth and power [d] of the Spanish nation, and villifyeinge the Hollanders; remonstrateinge to Kinge James, that that state was most ingratefull [both] to his predecessor Queene Elizabeth and his sacred Majestie; that the States were more obnoxious then the Turke, and perpetually injured his Majesties loveinge subjects in the East Indyes, and lykewise that they had usurped from his Majestie the regallitye [and invaluable profitt [e]] of the Narrow Seas, in fysheing uppon the Englishe coastes.

Had the Spanishe match taken effect, which was broken by the heate and vyolence of our furyous enemy the Duke of Buckingham, Kinge James had deserted the Hollanders. [f]

Those great statesmen had butt [one principall meanes [g]] to further their greate designes, which was to season [h] Kinge James that none butt the Puritan faction, which plotted noethinge butt [anarchie [i]] and his confusion, were adverse to this happie unyon. Wee steere on the same course, and have made great use of [this anarchicall [k]]

[a] statesman *in MS. Harl.* 1323. [b] to gyve, *MS. Harl.* 1323; to regayne, *edit.* 1643.
[c] adjureinge *in MS. Harl.* 1323; admiring *in edit.* 1643.
[d] integritie *in S. P. Office copy*; honour *in edit.* 1643. [e] Copy in State Paper Off.
[f] In the S. P. O. copy is a marginal memorandum to this paragraph: "Leave out this wher the lines are drawn." It is accordingly so omitted by Prynne and Rushworth.
[g] a principall end, *MS. Harl.* 1323. [h] set on *P. & R.*; seize on, *edit.* 1643.
[i] oligarchie *in MS. Harl.* 1323. [k] the averticall, *MS. Harl.* 1323.

election. And wee have prevented[a] and anticipated the great one,[b] that none but the Kinge's enemyes and his are chosen of this Parliamente.[c] The Parliament vowes to begin where they left, and will never gyve over tyll they have extirpated him and his posteritye. On the other side [the same[d]] partyes, whoe are to bee admyred for their indefatigable industrye, incessantly foment[e] revenge and jealousie in moste of the parliament men, especiallye [they] worke uppon the pryde and vayne-glorye of such as have been emprysoned, possessinge[f] them that they are the onely fathers[g] and worthies of their countrye.

London is as much [distempered[h]] as ever Florence was; for the companyes are at oddes, and the common councell have opposed the magistrates against their owne[i] custome in electinge the knights, which hath bredd a great hartburninge in the cittye. Soe that twyce a daye wee cann divulge whatt we liste in Paules and the Exchaunge, and wee have allreadye rendred our irreconcyleable enemy the Duke as odyous as a toade; for the people are apt to believe any thinge against him. Wee hope to bee revenged on that ball of wylde-fyre, and [shortly to] quench his furye [and before two yeares be at an end wee hope to see the Duke in Spaine with a nayle in his forehead, carrying that illustrious prince the Count of Olivarez in his chaire about Madrid.[k]]

You shall see the same sworde that wounded us, being drawne uppon the woundes with an oyle [that we have anointed it,] shall make us whole. And [thus[l]] it shall be done. The Parliament as a great shippe hath dashed twyce against the same rocke, and wee have soe wrought against the severall [complexions[m]] of parliament men, in

[a] prejudicated, *P. & R. and edit.* 1643. [b] The Duke of Buckingham.

[c] From this passage to the passage ending with "destruction," in p. 36, was not printed by Prynne: this corresponds with a marginal mark in the S. P. Off. copy.

[d] his owne, *MS. Harl.* 1323. [e] fome out, *edit.* 1643.

[f] perswading, *S. P. Off.* [g] martyrs, *S. P. Off.*

[h] distressed, *MS. Harl.* 1323. [i] old, *S. P. Off.*

[k] This passage occurs only in the State Paper Office copy.

[l] that, *MS. Harl.* 1323. [m] complaynts, *MS. Harl.* 1323.

charmeinge the most temperate and wisest, that the best waye to overthrowe the Duke is by humble Petition to his Majestie. With the vyolent sorte wee have taken a contrarye course, by workeinge uppon their passions, and inebriatinge their fancyes with probabillityes and presidents,[a]—That [it was [b]] never heard of, that Favourites have been Parliament-proofe; they wrestled for a tyme, butt att last the Parliament hath overthrowne them on their backes. Wee encourage them with all the witt wee have to fall uppon the Duke, and perswade them nowe is the tyme or never, the Kinge beinge in such necessitye; insomuch that wee assure ourselves God hath forsaken and infatuated them, that they shall not onely strike uppon the same rocke agayne, butt sincke and perishe[c] in the bottomless pitt[d] of destruction.

Wee have [now] many stringes to our bowe, and [have strongly] fortiffyed our faction, and have added two bullwarks more; for when kinge James lyved, you knowe hee was very vyolent against Armynianisme, and interrupted, with his pestilent witt and deepe learninge, our stronge designes in Holland, and was a great friend to that ould rebell and heretique the prince of Orange. Nowe, wee have planted that soveraigne drug Arminianisme, which wee hope will purge the Protestants from their heresie, and flourishe and beare fruyte in due season.

The materyalls which buylde upp our [other] bullwarke, are the [projectors[e] and] beggars of all rankes and quallityes whattsoever.

Bothe these factions co-operate to destroye the Parliament, and introduce a newe species and forme of government, which is oligarchie.[f] [These serve as direct mediums and instruments to our end, which is the[g]] Universall Catholique monarchie.

Our foundation must bee mutation.[h] This mutation will bringe a

[a] *i. e.* precedents. [b] that were, *MS. Harl.* 1323.

[c] split and wracke, *edit.* 1643. [d] sea, *S. P. Off.* [e] promoters, *MS. Harl.* 3786.

[f] elegant, *edit.* 1643: *in which this paragraph is altogether nonsense.*

[g] *Omitted in MS. Harl., in Prynne, and edit.* 1643.

[h] This word, which occurs in all the copies, is evidently a mistranslation of the Latin word *mutuatio*, and implies the raising of money by way of Loan. The next word, *reluctа-*

reluctation, which will serve, [as soe] many vyolent diseases, as the stone, the gowte, the toothe-ache, [&c. to the] speedye destruction, or perpetuall and insufferable anguishe [of the body], which is worse then death itselfe.[a]

Wee proceed [now] by councell and mature deliberation, howe [and when] to worke uppon the Duke's jealousie and revenge; and in this wee gyve the honnour to such as meritt it, which are the Church Catholiques.

There is another matter of consequence, which wee take much into our consideration and tender care, which is to chace off[b] the Puritans, that they hange not in the Duke's eares. They are an impudent, subtile people, and it is to bee feared least they shoulde negotiate a reconciliation betwixt the Duke and the Parliament. [Certainlye the Duke would have gladlye reconcyled himselfe to the Parliament[c]] att Oxford and Westminster. Butt nowe wee assure ourselves wee have handled the matter soe that both the Duke and the Parliament are irreconcyleable.

For the [better] prevention of the Puritans, the Armynians have alreadye blocked[d] upp the Duke's eares, and wee have those of our religion whoe stand contynuallye at the Duke's chamber to see whoe goes in and out, and wee cannott bee too circumspect in this regard. I cannott choose but laugh to see some of our coate, howe they have accommodated[e] themselves; you would not knowe them yf you

tion, is also evidently untranslated Latin: it occurs only in MS. Harl. 1323, being altered to *relactation* in MS. Harl. 3786, and to *relaxation* in the other copies.

[a] This passage, the original construction of which I have endeavoured to restore as above, is obscure in all the copies. In Prynne and Rushworth it reads thus: "mutation will cause a relaxation, which will serve as so many violent diseases, as the stone, gout, &c. to the speedy distraction of our perpetual and insufferable anguish of body, which is worse than death itself."—following the State Paper Office copy. In the edition of 1643 it is nearly the same, except in the words, "and many violent diseases in the body, as the stone, gout, &c. And to the distraction or perpetuall," &c.

[b] stave off, *P. & R.; in edit.* 1643 *both terms are omitted.*

[c] Omitted in P. and R.

[d] locked, *P. & R.*

[e] accoutred, *P. & R. and edit.* 1643.

sawe them, and it is admyrable howe in speech and gesture they acte the Puritans. The Cambridge schollars, to their woefull experience, shall see wee cann acte the Puritan better than they cann acte the Jesuite.[a] They abused our sacred patron Ignatius in jeast; butt wee will make them smarte in earneste. I hope you will excuse my merry digressinge, for I confesse it unto you, I am att this instant transported with joye to see [how happily] all instruments and meanes, as well great as little, co-operate to our purposes.

Butt to returne to the maine fabrique of our foundation, which is Armynianisme. The Armynians and Projectours, it appeares in the premises, affect mutation.[b] This wee seconde and inforce by probable arguments. In the first place, wee take into consideration the Kinge's honour, and present necessitye, and wee shewe howe the Kinge maye free [himself] of the wardshippes, as Lewis the [Eleventh[c]] did; and to his greater glorye[d] and lustre howe hee may rayse a vaste revenew, and not bee behouldinge to his subjects, which is by waye of Impositions and of Excise.[e] Wee instance the Lowe Countryes, and shewe whatt a masse of moneye they raysed, to paye theire armyes by sea and land, meerely out of excise.[f] Then our Church Catholiques proceed to shewe the meanes howe to settle this excise, which must bee by a mercenarye armye of horse and foote. For the horse wee have it sure they shall bee

[a] An allusion to the play of Loiala, written by John Hacket, D.D. (afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), and performed before King James at Cambridge on the 19th of March, 1622-3. (See Nichols's Progresses, &c. of King James I. vol. iii. p. 836.) It was not printed until the year 1648.

[b] *i. e.* a Loan, as before.

[c] Third *in MS. Harl.* 1323.

[d] splendor *in edit.* 1643. *In MS. Harl. the words* and lustre *are converted into* And lastlye, *beginning a new sentence.*

[e] imposition of excise, *P. & R.*

[f] This portion of "the Jesuit's Letter" might be supposed to have been founded upon what passed in debate in the House of Commons on the 7th of June, 1628; when Mr. Coriton declared tha the had learned that there was a commission in the Crown Office "for enjoining of Excises upon this kingdom," and that Burlemachi had a warrant of privy-seal to disburse 30,000*l.* for buying of German horse. See the indignant debate which ensued, in Hansard's Parliamentary History, 1807, vol. ii. p. 407.

forraigners and Germans, whoe will eate uppe the Kinge's revenewes [and spoil [a]] the countrye wheresoever they come, though they should bee well paid. Whatt havocke will they make then, when they gett not paye, or are not duely and monethlye paid! surely they will doe much more mischeiffe then the Catholique [b] armye will doe.

Wee are provident and carefull that this mercenarye army of two thousand horse and twenty thousand foote shalbe taken upp and paid before the excise be setled.

As in this inforceinge [c] the excise the countrye is most lykelie to ryse, yf the mercenarye armye subjugate the countrye, then the soldiers and projectours shall bee paid out of the confiscations; yf the countrye bee too hard for the soldiers, then they must [consequentlye [d]] mutineye, which is equallye advauntagious [e] to us.

Our superlative designe is, to worke the Protestantes as well as the Catholiques to wellcome in a conquerour; that is, by the meanes wee hope instantlye to dissolve trade, and hinder the buyldinge of shippes, in deviseinge [f] probable designes, and puttinge the state uppon the lyke expedition as that of Cales,[g] by takeinge awaye the marchants' shippes, and puttinge them in hope to take the West Indya fleete; [h] which was to finde a needle in a bottle of haye.

His Catholique Majestie shall not want our best endeavours and intelligence; besides [he hath] pistolettes and carvills,[i] which are still abroad to discover. Soe you cannott bee surprised in any harbour. When trade is ruyned and shippinge decayed, whatt will become [of excise? nay what will become] of noblemen's and gentlemen's re-

[a] in *MS. Harl.* 1323.

[b] *Instead of* Catholicque, *in P. & R.* we hope, *evidently corruptly. In edit.* 1643, then we of the Catholike armie.

[c] in forming, *P. & R.*

[d] conffidentlye, *in MS. Harl.* 1323.

[e] disadvantagious, *MS. Harl.* 1323.

[f] propounding, *edit.* 1643.

[g] The Earl of Essex's expedition in 1596. "as that of Coals," *in edit.* 1643.

[h] *This is altered by Prynne into*, "so that they may not easily catch and light upon the West India fleet, &c." an evident perversion of the original. The whole remainder is omitted by Prynne.

[i] he hath piscators, *MS. Harl.* 3786. he hath pistacheos and caravils, *edit.* 1643.

venewes? The yeomen and farmours, in which consists the glorye of the infantrye of this kingdome, they will turn rogues, and will resemble the abject peasants of Fraunce, who are little better than slaves.

Trade and shippinge is soe much decayed alreadye that London is as it were besieged [a] for want of fewell, for sea-coale is att three pounds the chaldron.

When thinges are brought to this perfection, which will be (wee hope) by that tyme his sacred Majestie hath setled his affayres in Germanye, all the people in generall [will long [b]] for a conquerour,[c] missinge their meanes and revenewes which should maintayne them accordinge to their severall rankes and quallityes; then, we assure ourselves that the landes that were rent and torne from [the Church by] that ravenous monster Henry the Eighth, shall be reassumed, and restored, by our mightye protectour his Catholicque Majestie, to the recallinge of those that are exiled, and deliveringe thousandes of soules that suffer persecution for the testimonye of a good conscyence.

Joyne your prayers with ours in importuninge the Blessed Virgin Marye, and all the host of angells and holye martyrs, to interceed for us, and noe question God will make haste to help us.

Thus, hopeinge to see Counte de Tillye and Marquesse Spinola here about July come twelve monthes, I reste. In the meane tyme wee praye for their happie successe in Germanye and the Lowe Countryes.

Your friend,

J. M.

From the county of *(blank)*.

[This date and signature occur only in the printed copy of 1643.]

[a] frozen, *MS. Harl.* 3786.

[b] linger, *MS. Harl.* 1323.

[c] conquest, *edit.* 1643.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

14 March, 1627[-8.] A warrant directed to George Long, justice of the peace of Middlesex, for the apprehending Jesuits and sending them severally to prison.

27 March, 1628. A warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse, or to his deputie, to receive into custodie, and keepe safe prisoners, the persons of George Hollande, Robert Beamont, Daniel Stanhop, and ——— Parre, and to keepe them until further order should be given.

The lyke warrant directed to the keeper of the New Prison, or to his deputie, to receive into custodie the persons of Joseph Underhill, Edmond Weedon, Edward Moore, John Pennington, servant to Weedon aforesayd, Margaret Isham, Thomas Latham, and George Kemp, gardiner, and to keep them safe prisoners untill further order should be given by the board. Signed by the Lord President, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Viscount Grandison, and Mr. Secretary Coke.

At Whitehall, the 18th of Aprill, 1628. Whereas a Petition was this day presented to the Board by Humphrey Crosse, messenger, shewing that the petitioner had taken great paines formerly in discovering of persons ill affected in religion, and had of late by virtue of a warrant from Mr. Secretary Coke, apprehended Father Muskett and Father Price, as also seven Jesuits within a house in Clerkenwell parish; and that he had received no reward for the services aforesaid, nor any recompence for his great charges and disbursements in effecting thereof, and therefore made humble suite

for such allowances as the Board should thinke fitt. Their Lordships, upon consideration had thereof, did thinke fitt and order that Mr. Justice Long, Mr. Auditor Povey, and the said messenger, taking to their assistance two of the sworne apprizours of the city of London, shall take a view and just apprizment of all such goodes as remaine in the said house where the Jesuites were taken, and shall make a true inventory thereof,[a] and return the same to the Board, to the end that recompence may be given out of the same to the said messenger, in recompence of the said service, as shall be thought fitt.

12 July, 1628. This day Joseph Underhill, a recusant, prisoner in the New Prison, in regard of his dangerous indisposition, which is certified by twoe phisicians, had permission to remove from thence for the recovery of his health, upon the bond of himselfe and Drue Lovet, goldsmith, and Ferdinand Emerson, cittisons of London, to make his appearence at the Board whensoever hee shalbe summoned.

At Whitehall, the 14th of November, 1628. Order about recusants taken at Clerkenwell.—For so much as concerneth the recusants who were taken at Clerkenwell, of whom diverse are Jesuits, and the house where they were taken destined to be a College of that order, as appeareth by that which was this day presented to the Boarde in wryting by Mr. Secretary Coke. Whereas they are now in severall prisons, it is ordered, that they shall all be removed to the prison of Newgate, and such of them as are not yet convict and condemned shalbe proceeded against, untill they be condemned, and then all of them sent to the castle at Wisbich, according to the proclamation in that behalf.[b] And lykewyse for so much as concerneth the goodes taken in the aforesaide

[a] The Inventory made in pursuance to this order is preserved in the State Paper Office, and will be further noticed in a subsequent page.

[b] On the 28th Sept. preceding, the Council had addressed a letter to the Bishop of Ely, "desiring Wisbech castle to be made ready to receive and lodge all such Priests, Jesuits, Seminaries, and other prisoners as shall be hereafter sent thither." One Southworth, a recusant priest, prisoner in the gaol of Lancaster, was thereupon sent to Wisbech. This was not, however, the first occasion of Wisbech castle being used as a public prison for religious offenders. It had been occupied by Seminary Priests and Recusants in the

house, his Majesties Attorney-Generall is required to take a course for the entitling of the King unto them.

Note.—It was at the house of the goldsmith Lovet,[a] who bailed the prisoner Underhill, as stated in the preceding extracts, that the Jesuits and Priests were supposed to meet in council, and are so represented in a curious print which was published in 1620, in the Second Part of Thomas Scot's "Vox Populi, or Newes from Spaine." It is given in illustration of the following statement, which is put into the mouth of the famous Gondomar (who had long been resident as Spanish Ambassador in England): "I will produce a Letter unto me, subscribed with the hands of many of the chiefe among them, of the manner of their proceedings, and that you may know they spend not their time in vaine in England. For I must, my LL: tell you I hold intelligence with the wisest and best learned among them, and wherever they are *transeo per medium illorum.* Therefore I thought it not amisse by a draught to let you see them in their Consultation, as they were wont to sit at the house of one L. a goldsmith in Fetter-lane by Holborne, in London. This L. hath for many years closely kept a printing-house, to the

reign of Elizabeth, certainly as early as 1587, and probably before. In the King's answer to the Petition of both Houses of Parliament against Recusants, given in the first week of April, 1628, he had declared "That he will, according to your desire, give both life and motion to the laws that stand in force against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and all that have taken orders by authority of the see of Rome; and, to that end, his Majesty will give order to all his ministers for the discovering and apprehending of them, and so leave them, being apprehended, to the trial of the law. And in case, after trial, there shall be cause to respite execution of any of them, *yet they shall be committed (according to the example of the best times) to the castle of Wisbitch*, and there be safely kept from exercising their functions, or spreading their superstitious and dangerous doctrines, and the receivers and abettors, they shall be left to the law." (Journals of the House of Lords, vol. iii. p. 713, and Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. ii. col. 249.) Other instances of the use of Wisbech castle as a prison for religious delinquents will be found in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. Nos. CXXIX. CXX. CCXXXVI. CCXXXVII.; Fuller's Church History, ed. 1837, vol. iii. pp. 24, 80, 140, 141; Devon's Exchequer Issues of James the First, p. 74; Lysons's Cambridgeshire, p. 290; and Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, vol. iii. p. 84.

[a] There were, it appears, three brothers of this name goldsmiths, and a fourth a priest: see p. 45.

great furtherance and increase of the Catholique religion in that land, for by his meanes thousands and thousands of good books have been dispersed over the land, which, albeit they are sold at an excessive rate, and he hath been a great gainer by them, yet are they printed and reprinted againe, and much money gotten by them though uttered at a third hand."

The engraving, which represents eighteen persons seated about a square table, has the following inscription:—

I haue here sett the true portrature of the Iesuits and prists as they vse to sitt at Counsell in England to further y^e^ Catholicke cause.

On the table lie a bell (near the right hand of the president, Dr. Bishop), a cross, a lighted candle, a crucifix, and two books; and a seal and writing materials before one who appears to act as secretary. This is Father Palmer, who is attired in the costume of a gentleman, with a hat and feather.[a] The rest are all in ecclesiastical attire, with square caps. Their names (going round the table from F. Palmer) are, Dr. Wright,[b] Dr. Bristow,[c] F. Bar-

[a] In his list of Roman Priests and Jesuits resident in London (dated March 26, 1624), Gee enumerates two Jesuits named Palmer, "lodging about Fleet-street, very rich in apparel; the one, a flaunting fellow, useth to wear a scarlet cloak over a crimson sattin suit." In another place Gee says, "If about Bloomesbury or Holborne thou meet a good smug fellow in a gold-laced suit, a cloak lined thorow with velvet, one that hath good store of coin in his purse, rings on his fingers, a watch in his pocket, which he will valew at above twenty pounds, a very broad-laced band, a stiletto by his side, a man at his heels, willing (upon small acquaintance) to intrude himself into thy company, and still desiring further to insinuate with thee; then take heed of a Jesuite of the prouder sort of priests. This man hath vowed *poverty*. Feare not to trust him with thy wife: hee hath vowed also *chastity*. Many of the secular Priests and Friars go as gallant as these, but the Jesuite hath the superlative cognisance whereby they know one another, and that is, as I observed from this time, a gold hatband studded with letters or characters. Perhaps at another time they have another mark, according to their watch-word given among them." Gee's Foot out of the Snare, p. 50.

[b] Gee mentions two persons of this name: "D. Wright, a grave ancient man; he lodgeth in the White friers." "Master William Wright, Jesuite, some time prisoner in the Tower, Treasurer for the Jesuites." Gee's fourth edition. In an earlier edition, judging by the copy of the list in Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, 1732, 4to. p. 435, these two Wrights are described as one person. Of the second a memoir will be found in Dodd's Church History, 1742, iii. 114.

[c] "D. Bristow, sometimes of the College of Douay." Gee.

low,[a] F. Fisher,[b] Dr. Bishop,[c] F. Pateson,[d] F. Porter,[e] F. Worthington,[f] F. Anineur,[g] F. Louet,[h] Dr. Smith,[i] F. Ployden,[k] F. Sweete,[l] F. Heighā,[m] F. Maxfeeld,[n] F. Lurtice,[o] and F. Woode.[p]

The list of English Jesuits, printed in the following page, is the paper marked Z. in the State Paper Office, upon which some remarks have been already made in p. 30.

[a] "F. Barlow, a Jesuite, lodging about the Custome House." Gee.

[b] "F. Fisher, a notorious Jesuite, lodging neere the Savoy." Ibid.

[c] "Old Father Bishop, the nominal Bishop of Chalcedon." Ibid. See before, p. 4.

[d] "F. Pateson, a Jesuite, lodging in Fetter-lane." Ibid.

[e] "F. Porter, a Jesuite, lately come out of Lancashire." Ibid.

[f] "F. Worthington, a Jesuite, nephew to Doctor Worthington." Doctor Thomas Worthington was one of the translators of the Douay Bible, and author of The Anchor of Christian Doctrine, the three last parts of which, Gee tells us, had been printed in London, and were sold at his lodging in Turnbull-street, for fourteen shillings. He had two nephews, both Jesuits, John and Lawrence, of whom memoirs are given by Dodd, iii. 109, 110, and by Dr. Oliver, Biography of the Jesuits, 1845, p. 227.

[g] "F. Annieur, a Frenchman, but one that hath long lived in England, and insinuateth with some of our nation very dangerously." Gee.

[h] "F. Lovet, brother to the three Popish goldsmiths of that name." Ibid.

[i] Gee enumerates of this name—

"D. Smith, senior, sometimes of the Colledge of Rome, and author of divers pestilent bookes.

"D. Smith, junior, author of divers other bookes no lesse dangerous.

"Richard Smith, Vicar-Generall of the South-parts of England."

This last succeeded Dr. Bishop as Bishop of Chalcedon. The two former were Jesuits; besides whom there were also two secular priests of the same name resident in London.

[k] "F. Ployden, a Jesuite." Ibid. Edmond Weedon, arrested at Clerkenwell, was supposed to be the same person (see p. 22).

[l] "F. Sweete, a Jesuite well-known, lodging at the upper end of Holborn." Ibid.

[m] "F. Heigham, author of many loud-lying pamphlets." Ibid.

[n] "F. Maxfield, a secular Priest, lodging in Holborne." There was also "Simon Maxfield, a Deacon, lodging in Fleet-street."

[o] This name should be Curtice. There were two: "F. Curtice, a Jesuite; his brother a pewterer, a Papist in London, dwelling in Towre-street. F. Curtice, another of that name, a Jesuite, brother to the former."

[p] "F. Wood, a very dangerous fellow."

Note. Gee's "Foot out of the Snare," is reprinted in Sir Walter Scott's edition of the Somers Collection of Tracts (1810) vol. iii. p. 49.

THE NAMES OF ALL THOSE THAT ARE PREISTES OF THE ORDER OF ST. IGNATIUS. FOUND IN CLERKENWELL 15 MARCH, 1627, PER LONG.

(Domestic MSS. State Paper Office, being the paper Z referred to in p. 30, ante.)

R. P. Ricardus Banxius.
P. Robertus Frevillus.
P. Thomas Salisburius.
P. Thomas Poultonus.

P. Nicholaus Lusherus.
P. Joēs Mannockus.
P. Robertus Coceius.
P. Joēs Gravenerius.
P. Guliel. Eliziæ.
P. Edmundus Bradshawus.
P. Jacobus Jones.
P. Robertus Tempestus.
P. Franciscus Gardinerus.
P. Henricus Claptonus.
P. Chrōforus Warnerus.
P. Nathanael Southwellus.
P. Joēs Dormerus.
Joēs Stephani.
Gul: Putnæus.
Joēs a S. Edmundo.
Thomas Gervasii.

P. Thomas Ypslæus.
P. Robertus Burguus.
P. Timotheus Hayes.
P. Guliel. Morsæus.
P. Thomas Abercrombæus.
P. Franciscus Milesius.
P. Thomas Lathwaytus.
P. Joēs Radfordus.
P. Henr. Floydus.
P. Laurentius Worthingtonus.
P. Philippus Fisherus.
P. Odoardus Williamsonus.
P. Guido Hollandus.
P. Henricus Hawkinus.
P. Thomas Keelus.
P. Joēs Grimstonus.
P. Thomas Pricius.
P. Georgius Morlæus.
P. Henricus Wilkinsonus.

P. Joēs Fisherus.
P. Guliel. Savillus.
P. Xpōferus Grinwoddus.
P. Joēs Yvisonus.
P. Simon Swinburnus.
P. Sabinus Chamberus.
P. Henricus Morus.
P. Henricus Belfildus.
P. Richardus Whitmorus.

P. Petrus Bensonus.
P. Gulielmus Brooksbæus.
P. Franciscus Yongus.
P. Henricus Coppingerus.
P. Thomas Gulielmi.
P. Thomas Everardi.

Note. The arrangement of the names, and the white spaces, are in exact correspondence with the manuscript.

The Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius of Loyola, was confirmed by a bull of Pope Paul III. dated 27 Sept. 1540. No missionaries were sent to England until the year 1580, when fathers Robert Persons and Edward Campian arrived in the month of June. Campian was apprehended, and was executed at Tybourn, on the 1st Dec. 1581. Persons escaped, and died in 1610 at Rome, where he was Prefect of the English Mission. Three others arrived in 1581; of whom Thomas Cotham was executed at Tybourn, May 30, 1582. Others, however, followed; one of whom in 1586 was the celebrated Henry Garnett, afterwards executed in 1606, during whose Superiority the actual members of the Society in England increased to forty.

In 1619 the Mission was raised to a Vice-Province, and Richard Blount was named Vice-Provincial; and further, by letters patent of Vitelleschi, the General of the Order, dated 21 Jan. 1623, England was raised into a Province of the Society, and father Blount was declared its first Provincial. In the previous November three Colleges had been erected: 1. the College of St. Ignatius, which comprised the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Berks, and Hertford; 2. the College of St. Aloysius, comprehending Lancashire, Cheshire, and Westmerland; 3. the College of St. Francis Xavier, embracing South Wales, Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire. The first of these appears to be identical with the community occupying the house at Clerkenwell, and of which Richard Bankes was the Rector. At the same period, Muzio Vitelleschi was General of the Order,[a] and Richard Blount Provincial in England.

Respecting the persons arrested in the House at Clerkenwell I find the following notices :—

Richard Bankes, who (we learn from Gee) was the son of a Deputy-Alderman of London, was a student at the English College at Rome, and on going on the English mission was received by F. Garnett, and appointed *socius* to F. Edward Oldcorne. After some time he was recommended by F. John Gerard to the situation of chaplain to Lady Vaux. He was professed 14th May, 1609, and, with a constitution enfeebled by severe imprison-

[a] He filled the office from the 15th November, 1615, until his death on the 9th February, 1645, aged 62. He had previously been Rector of the English College of Jesuits at Rome, from April 1592 to May 1594.

ment, died at Ghent, 14th March, 1643, aged 74. (Oliver's Biography of the Jesuits, p. 49.)

Thomas Poulton, whose release, under the name of Underhill, is noticed at p. 42, was dismissed from the order by the Provincial, F. Blount, 12th Dec. 1630, for libellous reflections on Cardinal Richelieu (on which affair see further particulars in Dr. Oliver's work, p. 174). He was subsequently reinstated, and died in England, 27th Feb. 1637.

Of the prisoner named "George Holland, *alias* Guy Holt," the identity is doubtful. There was a member of the Society named Guy Holland (see p. 46), who was a Lincolnshire man, educated at Cambridge; he embraced the institute of St. Ignatius in 1615, and was professed 14th July, 1628 (but this last date was during the confinement of the prisoners made at Clerkenwell). He died 26th Nov. 1660, aged 73.

Of the four other prisoners, Robert Beaumont, Edward Parre, Edmond Weedon, and Edward Moore, I have found no particulars. It is probable that all these were assumed names, under which they preferred to be brought before the courts of justice, as fathers Bankes and Poulton answered to those of Stannop and Underhill. Possibly either Robert Freville and Thomas Salisbury, or both, were among them, as was suggested by the Attorney-General (see p. 28). Both these names are classed with Bankes and Poulton in the list at p. 46; but Dr. Oliver (pp. 97, 185) states that both of them were professed on the 15th Oct. 1630, in which date there is possibly an error.[a] They both lived for many years after.

The real name of Weedon was supposed to be Plowden (see p. 22), but no Jesuit of that name occurs in the list at p. 46.

[a] There was, however, a long period, generally eighteen years, intervening between the entrance into the Novitiate of the Jesuits and the Profession of the four vows. The member, at the end of two years' noviceship, by taking the three simple vows, became bound to the Society; but the Society was not bound to him until the solemn Profession. Perhaps not one in five attained to this grade, and generally such professed Fathers were distinguished for high scholarship and merits. The other priests were termed Spiritual Coadjutors; and the rest of the members pursuing their studies of philosophy and theology were Scholastics. Others engaged in menial offices were called Temporal Coadjutors.

LETTER OF FATHER ARTHUR SANDERS TO FATHER EDWARD PARRE.

(See the Introductory Remarks, p. 9.)

Sir,—I have receaved these inclosed[a] to bee directed unto yow. They came post festum; soe yow will fynde tyme to celebrate this Orientall joye,[b] which is here highly esteemed.

I thought to have gotten a companion for Darrell, but hee made his excuses, and so I must expect a second passage of people from Olympio;[c] ther arr five or six comminge, and I have made my choyce before hande of one who I knowe will not faile to prove fitt for yow.

I must now write unto yow for the tronke of myne which yow have in your custodie, of which I sent you the keye; ther arr some calumniations raysed about itt, and I must not detayne itt any longer in my hands; wherfore I pray yow faile not to send itt up by the carriers of Barnstable p first, with every thinge that did belonge unto itt, for I must stande upon titles in this case, wher the giver is retrograde; sende itt up to Mrs. Elizabeth Whitinge in Fetter-lane, with a direction well nayled on, and a letter to my lodginges for my landladye. Bee sure to corde the tronke well, that the like error doth not befall mee as itt did Mr. Doctor; the keye must come in letter as I sent itt to yow. I hope the thinges are removed from Shillinge&[a].[d] for itt concernes us all deepely to looke to the mayne chaunce; lett itt be done what soever it costeth; and as I wrott before conceale the owners name.[e]

[a] This refers to the Latin directions transcribed at the end of the letter.

[b] Underscored, as noticed in the Introduction.

[c] The Jesuits were accustomed to use this covert designation for Rome.

[d] The latter part of this name is obscurely written. q. Shillingford near Exeter? At Bowhey there Sir George Petre, who was a benefactor to the Society of Jesuits, possessed a house, but he sold his Devonshire property in the autumn of 1626.

[e] These two lines are underscored by the same pen as the words "this Orientall joye."

Mr. Piggott is here still. Wee arr thinkinge to reconcile him with an exercise precedent, before hee goeth over, and then to turne him over to Calcedon. This is the opinion of our frends; and I am like to follow itt.

Newes ther is none, but the exorbitant marriage of the Lady Sydnam, who is married to the Lord Gray,[a] a Scottish Vicount, shee beeing of the age of fowerscore and hee of fower and twenty.

Mr. Owen Tichborne is come to London, and remembers his love to yow.

I pray yow sell my nagg, if you can, att the best rate yow may, and send me word how I may convaye your little nagg to yow.

The six hundred pounds had like to have been utterlie lost; but now itt is recoverable, yf I could bringe the partie to assigne itt. Itt may be that, yf yow think itt convenient, I may in tyme procure an assignment for Combe of 100^{li} therof. Lett him facillitate his landlorde therin yf yow thinke good to mention itt; otherwise I will not deale with itt. Yow wold little thinke how vehemently I have been charged by the yongest sonne of cossenage, and with solemne oathes that I have the three hundred pounds in my hande to my owne use, as Combe tolde him; but I knowe hee saith untrulie therin, and I have defended my selfe with silence. Hee is drawinge up articles against me for intermedlinge in his father's estate. The olde man is insensible of these thinges now, and therfore I must have patience and answer with the best courage I can the fowlenes of his rage, who only hath opposed both this 600^{li} and the portions

[a] This alliance is not mentioned in the Peerage of Scotland, nor yet in the pedigree of Sydenham in Hutchins's History of Dorsetshire. Andrew eighth Lord Gray (not a Viscount) was a Roman Catholic, and in 1624 Lieutenant of the Gens d'armes in France, in which country it seems that he chiefly resided. The datê of his birth is not upon record; but as his younger brother William had a charter to him *and his wife* in 1605, and their sisters were married in 1610 and 1611, (Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, by Wood, i. 671,) it is probable that the bridegroom of the text may have been Patrick master of Gray, the son and heir apparent of Andrew, who was "killed at the siege of a town in France," and after whose death the barony was renewed, in 1639, to his sister and her husband. (Ibid. p. 672.)

of his two neeces. God forgive him, and make me wise in trustinge to better spiritts. I wish I wer delivered from him and his, and have endeavoured itt with best strength I can, but I see I must stande still to my olde taske.

I wold I could tell when yow woulde come neere London, that I might meete yow halfe waye, for my harte longeth to see yow. Nothinge els occureth, but with my best wishes I rest,

Yours ever,

AR. SANDERS.

London, this 15 of Feb^{y}.

Mr. Weston wrott an excellent letter to me, which doth admirablie content our master, and I pray yow thanke him for itt.

Then follows:—

Ex concessione S. D. N. Urbani 8^{i} possunt oẽs n'ræ Soc^{tis} Sacerdotes recitare officiũ et dicere sacrũ de coñuni plurimorũ martyrũ de tribus martyribus nostris Japonensibus vid^{t}. Paulo Mictri, Joanne Goto, et Didaco Quirai, in die eorũ natali id est 5 Feb^{ij}.

Singuli dicent unũ sacrũ pro D'no Questore regio Joanne de Aruniega.

It'm tria pro quodam defuncto juxta intentionẽ uxoris ejus.

It'm tria pro Comite Nassau et conjuge fundatoribus vivis.

It'm tria pro Principessa Bisignani fundatrice defuncta.

20 Jan^{ij} 1628.

(Directed) To my very lovinge frend
Mr. Ed. Parr these dd.

(The seal in red wax, a small flaming heart.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPERS IN THE STATE PAPER OFFICE.

Attached to Sir Robert Heath's original draft of The Discovery there are now preserved the following documents:—

A. This is intituled "An Inventorie of all such goods and household stuffe as was found in the house neere Clarkenwell, in the possession of Daniell Stanhoppe, Edward Moore, George Holland alʒ Guido Holte, Joseph Underhill alʒ Thomas Poulton, Thomas Weedon, Edwarde Parre, Robert Beaumonte, suspected to bee Jesuittes or Seminarie Priests. And of Thomas Latham housekeeper there, beinge seized by me George Long, Esq^r. one of his Ma^ts Justices of Peace of the County of Midd. the xix^th daie of Marche 1627. By vertue of A Warrant from the Right Ho^ble the Lords and others of his Ma^ts most Ho^ble privie Counsell." The furniture described is not different to that of an ordinary mansion of the same class. The rooms enumerated are,—the Chambers over the Kitchen, over the Larder, and over the Butterie, the Dyneinge roome, the Chambre next adjoyninge (in which was "one strikeinge Clocke"), the Chambre over that, the Chambre over the Dyneinge Roome, the Chambre over the Portall, another next adjoining, and one next the Librarie (where there was "one hanginge watch with an alarum"), the matted Chambre, the Librarie, Margrett Isham's Chambre, the Garretts, the Larder, the Kitchen, and the Hall.

In the Librarie were "two wainscott presses, sixe small mapps, certaine small printed pictures in a frame, two old peices of dornix, one small table, two chaires, one paire of creepers.

"Item. A Seller of glasses and A meale tubb in a closet adjoyninge."

In the Matted Chamber were "one Tablet picture for an altar, and one other picture;"—which in the second Inventory were valued at xij*s.*

At the close of the Inventory are these memoranda—

"All or the moste part of the said Beddinge is marked with these letters, S: O: which I conceave to bee for *Sodalitie.*

"Much of the pewter in the house is marked with S: J: which I conceave to bee for *Societas Jesus.*

"24° Marcij 1627.

(signed) GE: LONGE."

The Accompts marked by the Attorney-general B and C are now deficient. Those marked D and E are preserved, and I have collated with the original the extracts inserted in pp. 24, 25.

The papers marked F are preserved, and are as described by Sir Robert Heath in p. 27, and they are followed by the documents marked G, H, I, and K.

The document marked L has been separated from the rest, if not entirely lost.

The letter marked M is preserved. It is dated "this 19th of July 1623," and the handwriting of the signature *Rich: Man:* closely resembles, as remarked by the Attorney-general, that to the former letter, which is signed "R. V^{æ} servus in X°, Rich: Blountus."

The letter of Mutius Vitellosius, marked N, is now missing; and so are the papers marked O, P, and Q.

The letter (R) from the Pope to the Bishop of Chalcedon remains, as does the Lay Catholics' answer to the Bishop (S) in Latin, and an English translation of the same; the Reply (T) to that answer, in which its authorship is attributed to a person named Fullano; and the several papers marked U, W, X, and Y, already described in p. 29. The paper Z has been printed in p. 46.

The other papers not described in the "Discovery" are—

1. A Letter in Latin, dated 19 Januarij 1625, addressed Adm. R^{do} in Chr̃o Patri Nostro, and signed Indignissimus in Christo servus

et filius, R. B. It is evidently a draft letter in the handwriting of Richard Bankes the Principal.

2. An English letter, signed Jo. Ed: undated, giving advice to some person respecting the marriage of a niece. It is probably the writing of the Jesuit named as "Johannes a S. Edmundo" in p. 46.

3. A letter to "Mr. Daniel Stannop," signed "Yours as you knowe, E. K. H." and dated This 19 of June 1626. It is a letter of thanks for some favours not explicitly described.

4. The letter of Arthur Sanders to Edward Parre, printed in p. 49.

5. Facultates solis superioribus concessæ. Ten articles in Latin.

6. A true copie of the Bishop of Chalcedon his letter to the lay Catholicks in England. Dated 16 Octob. 1627. Ten pages in English.

7. A letter (in Latin) of Richard Bishop of Chalcedon, dated Londini 10 Mar. 1628, and addressed, Ad Card^les^ S. Inquisitionis.

8. The oath taken by priests to Richard Bishop of Chalcedon. In Latin.

9. A Latin certificate dated "Londini die 30 Martii, stylo vetere, Anno D'ni 1628," testifying that a certain knight, who was one of the principal authors of the letter of the English lay Catholics, had declared that they intended nothing more by it than "satisfacere statui politico hujus regni;" and that most of those who assented to it were not averse to the restoration of episcopal jurisdiction in this country. This document is signed by "Joannes Bosseville, S. the: Doctor Sorbonicus," and by "Joannes Southcot, S. th. Doctor et Protonotarius Ap'licus."

10 and 11. Two papers relative to the personal history of Bishop Smith, which are printed hereafter, pp. 58, 59.

The second Inventory, made in pursuance of the order of the Privy Council, stated in p. 42. This is more curious than the former one, inasmuch as appraisement is made of the articles. "It was made on the 23d April 1628, by Justinian Povey and George Long, Esq^rs^ two of his Majesty's Justices of Peace of the countie of Middle-

sex, and by Humphrey Crosse messenger, with the assistance of Ralph Grinder, William Chamberlaine, and John May, three indifferent appraisors of the cittie of London, being men of honestie and used in such like occasions." The latter portion of it, which describes the furniture of the Jesuits' chapel and their books, may be considered worthy of publication.

"A note of the severall parcells following that were not in Mr. Long's Inventorie, being lockt up in the Butterie by Mr. Crosse, and the key thereof by him kept, but praised and inventored by the Praisors aforesaid—

In the Buttery.

Item, a pewter cesterne, one flagon pott, three pewter candlesticks, one small dish and a sawcer, foure stone juggs, one little brasse bell, seaven knifes, eleven forks, seaven pewter salts, six earthen salts, and 21 greene glasses . xxxviij^{s}.

Item, 4 silver spoones and a Maudlin cupp with a kiver of silver . . . . . xlv^{s}.

Item, 54 handkercheifes, one dozen of capps laced and plaine, six wrought capps, a sweet bagge of carnation taffetie laced about with a gould lace, with foure little leather boxes wherein they are . . . . . iij^{li}.

Item, 22 diaper napkins, one dozen of holland, and one dozen of flaxen napkins . . . . . xxiij^{s}.

Item, seaven diaper tableclothes and two diaper towells iiij^{li}. x^{s}.

Item, two holland tableclothes and one holland towell xxx^{s}.

Item, one flaxen tablecloth . . . . . viij^{s}.

Item, one paire of holland sheets and one paire of flaxen sheets . . . . . xvj^{s}.

Item, six towells . . . . . viij^{s}.

Item, iiij^{xx}viij severall peices of linnen, cobweblaune, small handkercheifes, altarclothes, antependants, and other altar linnen . . . . . vj^{li}. iij^{s}.

Item, one faire albe of cambrick edged with needle worke purles about the skirt, neck, and hands . . . . . l^{s}.
Item, eight other albes for preists . . . . . iiij^{li}. x^{s}.
Item, two vestments of calleco laced with a silke lace . v^{s}.
Item, five peeces of vestments of copework and foure antependants . . . . . xxv^{s}.
Item, foure shirts, one waiscott, seaven capps, two ruffes, one night raile, 14 old towells, diverse peices of old boote-hose, two pillow-beares, and other small peeces of linnen . xliij^{s}.
Item, an imbrodered purse and one paire of silke garters and diverse linnings and peices of cloth put together in a truncke, together with the truncke . . . . . xx^{s}.
Item, seaven old preist's gownes of blacke stuffe, at iiij^{s}. the peece . . . . . xxviij^{s}.
Item, a frock, one blankett, and an old baskett . . iij^{s}.
Item, five paire of worsted and wollen stockings . . xiiij^{s}.
Item, two paire of silke stockings and three paire of silke garters . . . . . xxiiij^{s}.
Item, five girdles, one paire of hangers, and a hatband . iiij^{s}.
Item, four capps . . . . . iiij^{s}.
Item, a silke wascott and a fustian wascott, and a stomacher . . . . . viij^{s}.
Item, a doublett and hose, a cloake and hoode of tawney cloth, laced with black lace . . . . . iiij^{li}. x^{s}.
Item, one black stuffe cloake, lined . . . . xxv^{s}.
Item, three jorkins *(sic)* . . . . . xxvj^{s}.
Item, two yards and a half of new black cloth . . xxxv^{s}.
Item, a waiscott of scarlett dye . . . . . vj^{s}.
Item, a paire of stuffe drawers . . . . . iij^{s}.
Item, a riding coate and hoode of cloth, laced . . xxv^{s}.
Item, one knitt waiscott and one flannell waiscott . v^{s}.
Item, an old doublett, hose, and paire of mittens, and bootehose topps, of sad colour cloth, laced . . . xx^{s}.
Item, a black cloth cloake, laced . . . . . xxv^{s}.

Item, a little trunke, with 40 bookes in it, and three truncks more, with a nest of boxes . . . . . xxv^{s}.

Item, two paire of blanketts, and one fustion blankett . xxxij^{s}.

Item, tenne folds of a skrene . . . . . xxvj^{s}.

Total, 164^{li} 00^{s}. 00^{d}.

Item, half a thousand of billets and two chaldron of sea-coales taken by M^{r}. Long, for his owne use, and by him prised at . . . . . xxxviij^{s}.

Item, remaining in the hands of M^{r}. Long, as himselfe affirmeth, a Dictionary, a Flores Doctorum, a missall, and a breviary, with about six books for a scholler, two skinnes of redd leather, one wrought purse, and one challice cupp of silver, taken in the hole where Parre the preist was found, which are not praised.

Item, readie money found in the house, which came to the hands of M^{r}. Crosse . . . . . vj^{li}. iij^{s}. ix^{d}.

Item, money that came to the hands of Mr. Long, which he delivered to Mr. Crosse . . . . . xxx^{s}.

Item, remaining in the hands of M^{r}. Crosse one old English Bible, one girdle, one imbrodered purse, and a booke of Sir Walter Raleigh's Workes, which are not praised.

Item, remayning in the hands of M^{r}. Thacker a Cooper's Dictionary, not praised.

(Signed) JUSTINIAN POUEY.

RALPHE GRYNDER.
JOHN MAYO.
WILLIAM CHAMBERLIN.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF RICHARD SMITH, BISHOP OF CHALCEDON.

Various papers relative to the Bishop of Chalcedon were certainly seized (see p. 54) in the house of the Jesuits, who were opposed to the institution of his authority in England. It may be doubted, however, whether the two here printed were among them, though they are now placed with them. They appear rather to be informations given to the government by parties not of the Roman Catholic communion: but they contain some remarkable particulars of some of the principal members of that persuasion. They are written by different hands.

Richard Smith was born in 1566, and was for a time a student of Trinity college, Oxford; he took the degree of doctor of divinity at Valladolid. The regular clergy in England strongly opposed his authority, and the papers in the hands of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell prove the interest they took in the controversy. Two royal proclamations were successively issued against him,—on the 11th December, 1628, and the 29th March, 1629 (which are both printed in Dodd's Church History, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144.) After the latter he left England, and did not return. Memoirs of Bishop Smith are given by Dodd, vol. iii. 76—79; and by Wood in Athenæ Oxonienses.

Richard Smith, an Englishman, borne in Lincolnshire, about the age of 60, brought up student in the seminares of Rome and Spaine, afterwards divine to the Bishop of Lusson, now Cardinal of Richelieu, by whose favour he was about 4 yeares since, by authoritie from the Pope, made Bishop over the English Romane Catholickes, with Title of Calcedone and Ordinary of England, where he hath now appointed and substituted his inferiour officers dispersed throughout all the countyes of this realme, with titles, powers, and formalities belonging to any Catholicke Bishops wheresoever, as Vicaires generalls, one for the South, an other for the North, deanes, archdeacons, rurall deanes, notaries, apparitours, binding by oath (as appeareth by the same,) all those his officers and other priests of his proper bodie and particular Clergie, to advance the spirituall and temporall good of this his English Secular Clergie, attributing to himselfe the decision of all causes *in primâ instantiâ*, as those which concerne Mariages, Testaments, Legacies, with such like, as well of Ecclesiasticall as Lay persons. Neverthelesse this his illimited and exorbitant Episcopall

authority, titles, officers, and proceedings, are rejected, disapproved, and condemned by the chief Catholickes, as well Clerks as Layes, as a thing contrary to the canons, practise, and lawes of Christian provinces, but especially of this realme, tending to the confusion of police in Civill and Ecclesiasticall matters, prejudiciall to souveraine auctho-ritie and order of this state, all which appeares by their Letters and reasons written both sides to Rome, their bookes and speeches. This considered, It resteth in his Majesties prudence and counsell to con-nive and tolerate this new borne monstrouous infant, or by command-ing diligent search and inquisition of the state and facte to dissolve and crush it in the cradle, by laying hold of the present occasion and opportunitie.

George Gage, prisonner in the Clinke, Agent for the Bishop and his Clergie, and seminarie of Douay in Artois.

William Harrvell, als Farrar, called the Bishop's Secretary and Notairy Apostolick, prisonner in the New prison in London.

Muskette, Deputie for Mr. Colmiton *(sic)* in the South as some say, prisonner in the Gatehouse in Westminster.

Indorsed, Bishop of Calcedone, that is over all the English Catho-lickes, and some of his officers.

Doctor Smith liveth ordinarily in the howse of the Ladie Mor-dant widow, mother to the Lord Mordant, and sister to the Præ-sident of Wales, at Turvie in Bedfordshire, within 3 miles of Bedford, the howse in the midst of a parck. From thence hee useth to goe [a]

[a] It is remarkable how entirely this account of Smith's episcopal progress tallies with that given by Dodd of the first journey of his predecessor Bishop. "He left Doway, July 28, 1623, and landed at Dover July 31, about twelve o'clock at night; and imme-diately the same night travelled thirteen miles a foot [though more than seventy years of age], to the house of Sir William Roper, where he reposed himself and was entertained suitably to his character; that gentleman looking upon it as no small happiness to give entertainment to this first Bishop that had been consecrated for England since the Refor-mation. His next station was London, and Lady Dormer was the first that made him her guest. Afterwards he paid a visit to Lord Montague in Sussex, a person of singular merit, and in great esteem with men of all persuasions. This visit being over, he returned

to the Ladie Dormer's in Buckinghamshire, at Wing or Ivinge: or at Chandeis, which is a howse in a wood neere Alesburie, and neere that place Anthonie Dormer her sonne intertaineth him at his howse within 2 miles of Missenden. Thence hee useth to go to Cowdray to the Lord Mountagues; thence to the Count Arundel's at Wardour,[a] and thence to Grafton to the Lord of Shrewsburies; thence to Sir Basil Brooks[b] near Shrewsburie, and then into Lancashire. Hee traveleth in his coch with 4 horses, accompanied with 9 or ten preists. Hee seldom cometh to London; but imployeth Fisher[c] most part at the Ladie Dormer's; and Collington[d] in Kent, at Sir William Roper's; and Musket[e] in London, at the Lord Sturton's howse at Clerkenwel, [at] Maidenhead at Sir H. Gilford's, or

to London, where he remained very private,"—until his death in April 1624, as Dodd believed. Gee stated that "old father Bishop hath rambled up and down Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, and other places, under the name of the Bishop of Chalcedon" (Foot out of the Snare, p. 29); but probably his information was not accurate.

[a] Afterwards in 1639 created Lord Arundell of Wardour.

[b] "Sir Basil Brooks, of Headley Court in Shropshire, a person of great account among the English Catholicks in the reigns of King James I. and King Charles I. and of some interest with those princes. He was a handsome, comely person; and was, in the 60th year of his age, *an.* 1635, very active at that time in supporting the cause of the Regulars against Episcopal government in England; tho' he had formerly entertained doctor Bishop bishop of Chalcedon (predecessor to doctor Smith) at his seat called Bishop's Court, near London, where doctor Bishop died April 16, 1624." Dodd's Church History, fol. 1742, vol. iii. p. 58.

[c] There were two Fishers of the order of St. Ignatius, John and Philip. One of them appears to have been the same with Musket, presently mentioned.

[d] When Gee compiled his list of Romish priests in 1624, ——— Colleton, the titular Archdeacon of London, was "lodging in S. Jones,"—*i. e.* at Clerkenwell. "I hear (adds Gee,) he keeps *in commendam* the deanery of Chalcedon." A biographical notice of Colleton (his true name) will be found in Dodd's Church History, vol. iii. p. 83.

[e] "F. Musket, a secular priest, lodging over against S. Andrews church in Holborne, a frequent preacher, and one that hath much concourse of people to his chamber." Gee. —"who hath four or five hundred (as I have heard him boast) that come to his chamber to a sermon." (Ibid. p. 80.) Dodd gives a memoir of George Musket, "whose true name was Fisher," in his vol. iii. p. 98. He had been arrested by the pursuivant Crosse, just before the capture of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell. Though frequently in confinement, he lived to be President of the English college at Douay, where he died in 1645.

in Drurie lane[a] at the Lord Montague's howse; and Barley[b] the Jesuit in Lancashire, and Umpton[c] alias Latham in the same shire (Lately cum from Rome, lies in his brother's howse with a librarie worth 500li.[d]); and Dr. Lamb in the same shire, who has had 2 bastards by a woman in Lalond parish. And Southwerck alias Bradshaw in the same shire, where manie recusants have conveyed their estates since the proclamation, to defraud the king.

A daughter to the Lord Mountague is browght up with the Ladie Mordant, whom Dr. Smith sanctified with holy water and sweet oyle. Her confessor, called Father Morgan, of whom she demanded whether shee might lawfully agree to the Bishop's desires, uppon notice therof taken, is excommunicated by Smith, and now liveth at his father's howse within 3 miles of Whitchurch, at a village called Banger: and ther is writing against Smith, having from his sentence appealed to the Pope. This Morgan tould the . . . . . [e] discourse of Mris Mountague and the Doctor [to] this partie Richard Wainwright, the Lord Threasurer's messenger, in presence of one Cross the younger, a messenger.

Morgan was enjoyned by the Bishop to live in the contrie as a banished man. Hee is about 40 years old, a black man, middle stature, and professeth himself to bee a priest.

[a] During a debate in the House of Commons on the 5th of June, 1628, Mr. Whitaker said, "There is a commonwealth of Papists, nobility, gentry, clergy, and commonalty, that serve the Duke constantly. In *Drury Lane* there are three families of Papists there residing for one of Protestants; insomuch that it may well be called Little Rome." Parliamentary History, 1807, 8vo. ii. 406.

[b] Probably the same with Barlow, before mentioned in p. 44.

[c] "Father Umpton, a Jesuit, an old, short fellow." Gee. "Father Latham, a Jesuite; he was sometime a bird in the stone cage at Lancaster." (Ibid.) It is not improbable that in this and other cases Gee has made two Jesuits out of one, from having heard both their real and their assumed names. Dr. Oliver's biographical Collections do not in this case clear the doubt.

[d] This is inserted. In the margin also is this side note, now imperfect from the paper having been torn: "A prime man; hath 1000li in his purse . . . in the howse . . . kit in the . . . son."

[e] The paper decayed.

SINCE the Introduction was printed it has been found that the fate of the House at Clerkenwell is described by Henry More the historian of the English Jesuits: though from the dates at the top of his page the passage might be supposed to have belonged to the year 1634. It occurs in his Liber decimus, num. XIV.:

Rector cum aliis Londini captus.—Accidit etiam ut Londini Rector cum sex sociis in conducta ad usus nostros domo caperetur. Designatus erat dies ad vota aliorum renovanda, aliorum ultima nuncupanda; non tam cautè res acta est, ut vicini circumquaque hæretici non adverterent plura in eam domum invehi quàm paucis qui comparebant sufficerent. Accessit invidia tabernariorum qui se neglectos indignabantur, dum necessaria non ab ipsis, sed a longius positis peterentur. Itaque informatis quadruplatoribus cingitur circa nonam matutinam domus, irrumpunt satellites, cuncta sursum deorsum perscrutantur: Rectorem in antro sub terra latentem cum supellectile sacra et sociis aliquot, alios aliis in locis præhendunt, ducuntque diversos ad carceres: Judicio agitur; unus tantum de Sacerdotibus damnatur qui se profitebatur Sacerdotem, quoniam id celari non posse existimabat, quandoquidem publicè in domo oratoris ita vixisset, gessissetque se: Cœteri, quoniam nullis testibus accusabantur aut non idoneis, dimissi sunt; unius etiam illius damnati dilatâ sententiâ libertas cum tempore procurata est." *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Societatis Jesu, Collectore Henrico Moro ejusd. Soc. Sacerdote.* Audomari, 1660, fol. p. 467.

From this account it is pretty clear that the Jesuit who was condemned, but afterwards admitted to bail, was he who went by the name of Edward Moore, and is called "the priest" by the Attorney-General (see p. 22). He judged it useless (as Henry More states) to deny his being a priest, having notoriously officiated in that capacity at the chapel of one of the foreign ambassadors.

ERRATA. Page 18, line penult. *for* Jones *read* Long.

Page 39, note g. The expedition to Cales, or Cadiz, which is alluded to by the writer of the Jesuit's Letter, was not the successful one of the Earl of Essex in 1596, but that in which his son was commander of the naval force, and Lord Viscount Wimbledon of the land forces, in the year 1625, and which was a lamentable failure. A memorandum may here be added that in the MS. Harl. 37, fol. 88—111, is a copy of "The Charge delivered by the Earl of Essex and some other Colonells at the Councell board against the Viscount Wimbledon, Generall of the last Cales voyage, with his answere, containinge a full Relation of the defeate of the same voyage."

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TRELAWNY PAPERS.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

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M.DCCC.L.III.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages contain copies of papers relating to the well-known Bishop successively of Bristol, Exeter, and Winchester, and to his father and grandfather. The papers are preserved by the family, and were lent to me for the use of the Camden Society. The selection has been made to a very limited extent, and for the purpose of adding to general historical literature rather than of illustrating points of family or personal interest.

The Bishop, when before James II., repudiated the notion that he or his family could be guilty of disloyalty, and referred his Majesty particularly to his being sent down to Cornwall to quell Monmouth's rebellion. The following papers show plainly how loyal the grandfather of the Bishop, Sir John Trelawny, and the father, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, had been. What they had suffered for the royal cause in Cornwall, their own county,[a] is verified by the report of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, now printed; and the first document in this selection, written after the second battle of Newbury (1644) to Captain Jonathan Trelawny (who, under the warrant of Colonel

[a] "By TRE-, POL-, and PEN-,
You shall know the Cornish men."

Sir Jonathan Trelawny purchased Trelawny, near West Looe, in 1599. He was of Poole, near Liskeard. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, p. 117 (1602), says, "Poole houseth Sir Ionathan Trelawny, farre beneath his worth and calling. . . Poole standeth in Mynhinet (now Menheniot) parish."

John Digby, had in April 1643 raised at Liskeard a troop of horse, consisting of fourscore, officers included, well armed and furnished for the service), proves on what good terms he was with the men acting in the field with the King. The paper appears to be otherwise interesting for the insight it gives into the opinions of one of the most sanguine of Charles's followers.

After the Restoration the son, who was born in 1650, was not forgotten. Having been found useful for his great influence in Cornwall during Monmouth's rebellion, he was rewarded by being nominated to the See of Bristol, the intimation of the Congé d'Elire being conveyed to him by the Earl of Sunderland on 17th October, 1685. It will be seen that on his first Visitation he zealously applied himself, under Sunderland's direct orders, to appeasing the ill-will of the clergy towards the King and the Roman Catholics. This leniency brought upon him the complaint by Sir John Knight of being disrespectful to the King and favouring papists, from which charge the Bishop defended himself in a letter to Sunderland, dated 25th June, 1686,[a] stating Knight to be so dangerous a man that he had forbidden the clergy of the cathedral to converse with him; that, before going to Bristol, he (the Bishop) had taken the advice of the Lord Chancellor as to the persons he should become acquainted with; that, as to the things objected to by Knight in the Bishop's directions to his clergy, he "exactly followed his Majesty's orders," and only enjoined the clergy, in relation to the Roman Catholics, to outdo them in strictness of life; that, whilst he was there, he preached only once, and that was the sermon he had the honour to preach before his late Majesty, enforcing a good life and loyal behaviour to the government, which he purposely chose to enact a pattern to the rest of his clergy, and to

[a] Orig. in State Paper Off.—Domestic, 1686.

prevent what stories he had since found and then feared; and that he had principally entertained the officers of his Majesty's regiments in the town commanded by his brother, "for which the town said he was a papist."

So little of papistry, however, had he in him, that, though he had been willing to carry out, so far as was consistent with his own principles, the wishes of the Court for conciliation, there was soon to arise a point to which he could not assent. After the King's Declaration of toleration, and for liberty of conscience in England, Burnet[a] says, "Some of the Bishops, that were gained by the Court, carried their compliance to a shameful pitch; for they set on Addresses of thanks to the King for the promise he had made in the late Declaration of maintaining the Church of England." "Some few were drawn into this. But the Bishop of Oxford had so ill success in his diocese, that he got but one single clergyman to concur with him in it." The letter of Lord Sunderland, which I copy from the State Paper Office, proves not only that the Addresses were of "government" manufacture, but were anxiously looked for from those prelates who had received Court favour. The draft answer of the Bishop gives the first intimation of that strong feeling which afterwards led him to the Tower; and, though the actual answer sent was somewhat modified in terms, it was in substance as positive.

The other documents sufficiently explain themselves. The Bishop was translated to Exeter in 1689, and to Winchester 1707; and died 1721.

W. D. C.

31, *Guilford Street*,
17 *Dec.* 1852.

[a] Hist. of Own Times, vol. iii. p. 186.

TRELAWNY PAPERS.

THE PROSPECTS OF CHARLES THE FIRST AFTER THE SECOND BATTLE OF NEWBURY, A.D. 1644.

His Majestie was verry fortunate after that great battle in Newbery (wherein there fell att the least six rebells to one royalist) in meeting neare Bristoll both Prince Rupert's horse and Collonel Gerard's Welch foote. This enabled him within a weekes tyme to march back to Deniston Castle [a] and to releive that place, and to fetch from thence the artillery and magazine which he had left there. Afterward he advanced yet farther, and faced their armyes in Newbery, provoking them to fight, which they refused. Waller being more prevalent to persuade their forbearance than Manchester to accept that offer, which hath caused a great heate betwixt them, and moreover administered unto my Lord of Essex a plentifull argument of venting himselfe against Waller.[b] And this is discovered unto us aswell by our espialls, but by an express message from the Earl of Essex unto Generall Goring, assuring the generall that he beyn on the place, as he was not (being sick att Reading) he would rather have hazarded all then suffered us to goe of as we did without being fought withall. But wee did not goe of farr, soe as his excellency might have had tyme enough to have interposed his courageous counsells if he had pleased; ffor the King, having

[a] Donington Castle.

[b] These complaints of Essex against Waller attained such a height that they could not be concealed from the Parliament.

refresht his army two or three dayes, prepared himselfe to releive Basing; which those of Newbery perceiving, immediately left the towne, and marching to Basing, planted themselves round about it. In the interim, Colonell Gage had persuaded his Majestie not to trouble his whole army upon that worke, undertaking to doe it only with a party of horse and 800 dragoons, which his Majestie forthwith consigned unto him;[a] and the collonel had noe sooner putt himselfe on the way, but the whole strength of the rebells presently rose, quitting their seige and hastning every one to his owne winter quarters, Waller to Farneham, Manchester towards his associated countyes, and Norton to Portsmouth. This hath byn the King's worke in all that straight without blowes. And his Majestie is since retired to Oxford to meet the rebell commanders there. The Upper House hath sent Lords Denbigh and Maynard; the Lower, Mr. Whittlock, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Perpoint, and the Lord Wainman, to treat with the King, and they are accompanied with the Lord Maytland, Sir William Ereskin, and Mr. Robert Barkley, for the Scotts; it being a part of their rebellious league that neither kingdome should treat without the other. This treaty the rebells have been forced unto in regard that the hearts even of their owne people are much drawne out towards a peace, and that it was necessary for them to endeavour one seemingly; but their sending of Mr. Hollis shewed they meant not one really, the King having formerly declared that he would not treate with any of those five notorious members, one of whom they therefore named, that his Majestie blancetering att him, might refuse thereupon, and soe bring the whole envy of the breach upon himselfe; but his Majesties most unwearyed goodnes deceaved them of that expectation. He had no sooner receyved their leaders, but he immediately wrote back, assuring them that however they had scornefully refused soe many gracious offers of a treaty from him, yet he had not lost one minute's time since the proposal from them, and to returne them

[a] See also Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, book viii. vol. iv. p. 553.

advertisement howe wellcome their message was to him, adding that he was only sorry that they had not accompanied an overture of this nature with another for the cessation, both being soe agreeable one to the other; but since they have not done that, he beleeved that they did not intend that, and that therefore they were not to expect that he would superseade the progress of his army during the treaty: and this was to prevent the like calumny which they threw upon his Majestie att Brainford,[a] when, notwithstanding the treaty, he continued his march, and was sufficiently rayld att by them for it. His Majesties designes now are for Abbington, and, as occasion shall serve, for Norfolke and Suffolke, the King having a great interest thereabouts, for the Crowlanders have lately possest themselves of the towne and castle of Wisbich; and the report is yet strong that the Isle of Ely is ours also, which hath occasioned principally Manchester's looking back that way.

In Scotland the Lord Montrose hath lately well banged the rebells, and is nowe at the head of 7000 men; and the Earl of Antrim's forces have beaten Argile entirely out of every fort in his country. The Lord Marquess Huntley is very strong by himselfe likewise, soe that the King's party is nowe eminently the powerfuller in that kingdome. Newcastle, indeed, is lost, but Tinmouth holds out stoutly.

From Wales wee have excellent newes of the releaving of Monmouth. The governor of the place being gone out with the greater part of his forces to storme Chepstow, my Lord Charles Herbert tooke the opportunity and marcht thither, depending on the affections of the townsmen, with 120 firelocks, acquainting by the way the Governor of Abergenney with his designe, who approving it, encreased him with as many firelocks more; and as hoped, soe it fell out, the towne immediatly joyned with him, soe that he tooke all those of the rebells that were left there; they were in all about

[a] Brentford.

eighty, and among them the great Stephens of Glocestershire, with severall other gentlemen of noate. Those gone towards Chepstow fayling of their designe, and finding upon their returne their towne held against them, dispersed immediatly, every man flying for his life, and my Lord Charles in the breech of them doing execution on them. The peace will be concluded in Ireland: the Papists have lett fall their stomachs, and are contented with reasonable conditions, soe that the Scotts may expect a very sharpe storme att the spring. Sir Thomas Lunsford tooke a whole troope of the Abington horse upon Sunday last was senight.

SERVICES OF SIR JONATHAN TRELAWNY AND HIS FATHER SIR JOHN.

The humble Representment of the Services and Sufferings of Jonathan Trelawny, Esq.

July the 24th, 1660.

First.—That att the age of seventeen yeares he raised, att his owne charge, a foot company, with which hee served under Sir Bevil Greenfield.[a]

Secondly.—Att his age of eighteen yeares he raised a troope of horse att his owne charge, and served with it in the regiment of Collonell Digby,[b] where hee continued in service untill he had a commission to be a Collonell of that regiment of horse.

[a] This was Sir Bevil Grenville, who was killed at the battle of Lansdowne (5th July, 1643), where the Cornishmen did excellent service. In the Grenville Library is a volume of Oxford verses (1643) to his memory by William Cartwright and others, noticed by Mr. Bolton Corney in Notes and Queries, vol. i. p. 151. Sir Richard Grenville was his younger brother.

[b] The original warrant from Col. John Digby, dated 1st March, 1642-3, is among the family papers.

Thirdly.—That hee also raised a regiment of foot at his own charge, which hee brought before Taunton, and served with them there under the commande of Sir Richard Greenfield, and afterwards served as Collonell Generall of a brigade of horse, when the Earle of Essex came into Cornwall.

Fourthly.—That since the end of the warrs all his estate was sequestrated for severall yeares, untill he was forced to redeem it by paying a great ffyne.

Fifthly.—That his father, by virtue of a commission from his late Majestie, levied and received of the countrie (which hee paid over for his Majesties service) severall sumes of money, to the vallue of 1000*l.*, for which hee and his father were questioned by the then power; to defend which suites and tyranny then imposed upon them for that service hee was forced to bee at great expense, charge, and trouble, and att the end compelled to repay the said 1000*l.*, with charges to the value of 500*l.* more.

Sixthly.—That hee payd decimation and all other taxes and payments, imposed upon him with all severity imaginable.

Seventhly.—That hee suffered imprisonment in Pendenis, Truroe, Tregony, Bodmyn, and Dortmouth nine severall times, sometimes three quarters of a yeare att a time, to the great preiudice of his health and ruine of his estate and family.

Eighthly.—That hee was designed three times to have lost his life, beinge allwayes considered by the enemy as most obnoxious to them of all the King's partie in that countrie, beinge twice imprisoned when noe other of his Majesties partie in that county was soe treated.

Ninthly.—That in the last winter's designes he disbursed 300*l.* in preparation of horses, armes, and men for his Majesties service.

That in all time of the warrs, and since the warrs, he never received any money att all for his services, in which hee was never either remisse or negligent in promoting of his Majesties interest and

service, all which shall bee made very clerely and fully appeare whensoever his Majestie shall commande it.

For all which the said Collonell Trelawny humbly imploreth his Majesties favour and goodnesse to him. And whereas your Majestie, on the petitioner's former request, was pleased that your petitioner should have a grant of the duty of tenn shillings upon the awne of Deale and Rhenish wine, at the rent of 20*l.* per annum, as the same was formerly granted unto William Murcey, Esq. May it please your Majestie to give your possitive order for your Petitioner's proceeding with the said grant to effect, without which your Petitioner and his family must inevitably perish.

And, as in duty, &c.

JONA. TRELAWNY.

(Indorsed)
My owne case to the King.

May it please your Majestie,

I have, according to your Majesties pleasure signified to me by Mr. secretary Morrice upon the 17th of March, considered of the Petition of Mr. Jonathan Trelawny, and do find that, in the yeares 1643 and 1644, Sir John Trelawny, father of the said Jonathan, amongst others, by his then Majesties commission, was employed for his service in the county of Cornwall, and did then receive severall sumes of money out of the estates of Sir Richard Buller, Francis Buller of Tregarvie, Mr. Arundell, and Sir Samuel Rolles, and others whose estates were sequestred for their delinquency, as being in armes against the King's Majestie, which said sumes, received by the said Sir John out of the said delinquents' estates, doth amount to the sume of 699*li.* 9*s.* 1*d.*

That the said Sir John Trelawny, by order of the said commissioners of the said county, did disburse and pay out to severall persons upon severall occasions for his said Majesties service, the sume of 631*li.* 7*s.* 6*d.* as by accompts ready to be produced may appear.

That in the yeares 1647 and 1648 the said Bullers, Arundell, Rolles, and others, from whose sequestrations the said Sir John Trelawny received the said sume of 699*li.* 9*s.* 1*d.*, and (notwithstanding his disbursements of the same for his Majesties service) the said Bullers, and other the delinquents, sued, arrested, and imprisoned the said Sir John Trelawny untill he gave security for the said monys formerly received of them.

That the said Sir John Trelawny, and Jonathan his sonne, were enforced to give security to the said Bullers, and other the malignants, for the said mony so received as aforesaid, both by themselves and their friends.

That the said Bullers, and other the delinquents, did obtain severall judgments against the said Sir John Trelawny, his sonne, and their friends, whereby they were forced to repay to the said Bullers, and other the malignants, the said sume of 699*li.* 9*s.* 1*d.* formerly received and disbursed for his Majesties service, with interest and charges for the same, which amounts to the sume of 1,200*li.* and upwards, as appears by bonds cancelled, and severall certificates produced before me, as it is likewise evident that Jonathan Trelawny, the sonne, hath paid all this mony out of his owne estate, besides the great charges, the severall suites, and vexation he hath been put to thereupon.

Concerning the services and meritts of the said Collonell Jonathan Trelawny I need not say anything, the gentleman himselfe having the honour to be so well knowne to your Majestie; and your Majestie well remembering that hee was engaged in his person in commands from the first beginning of the warre, as that he was alwaies nere your Majestie dureing the time of your being in Cornwall, and of extraordinary use to your service; and your majestie well knowes that dureing the whole time of your absence out of England, to the hower of your happy returne, he was alwaies one of those who kept constant correspondence with you, and performed many services to you, for which he suffered very many and long imprisonments, and I find that his estate is thereby very much impaired, so that I

know your Majestie lookes upon him as a person in all respects very worthy of your bounty and favour.

All which I humbly submitt to your great wisdome.

CLARENDON C.

Worcister House, 23 April, 1663.

STATE OF THE DORSETSHIRE CLERGY ON THE BISHOP'S FIRST VISITATION.

The Bishop of Bristol to the Earl of Sunderland.[a]

MY LORD, May 21st, 1686.

Your lordship having done me the honor to let me wayte on your lordship, and to receive some commands to be observed in my Visitation of Dorsetshire, I know myself obliged to present your lordship with the observations I made as to the principles and actions both of the clergy and layety of that county.

The first thing which happened of any moment was the presenting in my court at Cerne of 12 persons for being Roman Catholiques, which my chancellor acquainting me with, and asking how he was to proceed, I commanded him to dismisse them, as he did accordingly.

At Dorchester I had the misfortune of a very impudent sermon, with inuendos, that though we were not in any certaine feares of popery yet we were not wholly free from some apprehensions of it. Having severely reprimanded the preacher, and threatened him with suspension if he did not alter his method hereafter, upon advise with Sir Winstone Churchil, and the man's hearty repentance for his folly, I forbore the punishment I designed for him, and then speaking to the clergy told them of the danger of such reflecting dis-

[a] Original in State Paper Office.—Domestic, 1686.

courses, that whilst they preached that if the papists were cruel, oppressing, and such as could not keep their word with heretiques, they did insinuate to the ignorant people that the King, being a papist, he ought to be dreaded under all those characters, whereas his Majesty was so tender of his word as hitherto to neglect that ease which might have been expected he would have given to those of his own religion; so gracious in his frequent expressions of the loyalty of the Church of England, and his concern for its establishment, that, though the foolish heates of some members of it had afforded him just provocations for the taking them off of some libertys they had ill used, yet he had not restrained them in any one. Therefore I did assure them, where I heard of any excesse in that railing way, too usual of late, I would be certaine to punish not only with suspension but license.

By these things I hope I have in some measure discharged myself of what your lordship was pleased to enjoyn and expect. Was I enabled from the revenue of the bishoprike to make my residence in Dorsetshire the clergy should have the influence of my example to the force of my precepts, but the episcopal income being so despicably poor I trust your lordship will not enjoyne what will be to my certaine ruine. Whenever the King's grace, or your lordship's favour, shall place me in a dignitary of larger value and extent I will engage to render a proportionable service.

I am, my lord, your lordship's
Most dutiful humble servant,
J. Bristol.

Trelawne, May 21.
For my Lord President.

LANDING OF MONMOUTH—APATHY OF THE CORNISH MEN.

The Bishop to the Earl of Sunderland.[a]

My Lord,

Your lordship was pleased upon the discourse I had with your lordship concerning the affairs of this county just before I left London, to command me to lay in writing before your lordship the true account of the dismission of Mr. Rashleigh,[b] the present sheriff, from the truste of the lieutenancy.

Your lordship cannot choose but remember the honor that his Majesty and your lordship was pleased to doe me in sending me, upon the expectations which you had of the designed landing of the late Duke of Monmouth at some place in the West, down into Cornwall, to putt the country into the best posture I could of resisting any attempt there; where as soon as I came (the Duke having in the interim landed) I desired a meeting of the deputy-lieutenants in order to drawing the militia together; but I found them which we mett either unwilling to concerne them selfs, or at least so far as the present necessity seemed to require, which was beyond the bounds allowed by Acts of Parliament for the regulating the militia; but singly Mr. Rashleigh dissented from them, and told them that since the rebells had appeared openly in the field that they ought not to be scrupulous, for in such cases the laws ought to be supposed to give way to the safety of the King: and according to this sense of his duty he shewed himself the whole time of the rebellion, for he not only joyned with me in signing all commissions, but went day and night through the whole country to view each regiment and their arms, and to dispose them into those places which we thought of the

[a] The draft is in the bishop's handwriting; the letter is in the State Paper Office.—Domestic, 1686.

[b] Jonathan Rashleigh, esq. of Menabilly, M.P. for Fowey in the parliaments from 1660 to 1690.

greatest importance for the King and his interest; and while we dayly expected, upon Monmouth moving eastward, orders to follow him, no man shewed a greater cheerfulnesse or redinesse to goe; but notwithstanding all these expressions of his loyalty, just after the beheading the late Duke of Monmouth, the lord lieutenant[a] coming into the country, he was dismissed (to the wonder of all people who had observed his forwardnesse) from the lieutenancy; but how far such things conduce to the King's service your lordship can best judge.

I hope your lordship will pardon the trouble this gives you, being in obedience to your commands on,

My lord, your lordship's
Most obedient and most humble servant,
J. Bristol.

Trelawne, June 14th, 1686.

To my Lord President.

THE ADDRESSES OF THANKS FOR THE KING'S DECLARATION.

The Earl of Sunderland to the Bishop.[b]

My Lord, Whitehall, 26 April, 1687.

The King commands me to send your lordship the enclosed, being the copy of an Addresse which the Bishops of Durham,[c] Rochester, Oxford, and Chester[d] have signed and sent to the clergy of their

[a] John Earl of Bath, who had been appointed at the Restoration in 1660.

[b] State Paper Office.—Domestic, Various, No. 629, p. 371.

[c] Nathaniel Lord Crewe, translated from the see of Oxford to Durham, Oct. 22, 1674.

[d] These three bishops were all of James's appointment: Thomas Sprat, consecrated bishop of Rochester Nov. 2, 1684, Samuel Parker and Thomas Cartwright consecrated to the sees of Oxford and Chester respectively on the 17 Oct. 1686. See what Cartwright says of this Address in his Diary (printed for the Camden Society), pp. 50, 51, et seq. He was employed to win the assent of the bishops of Lincoln (Barlow) and Lichfield (Wood), and after a long correspondence he effected his object. The Address of the former was presented to the King on the 30th June, and that of the latter on the 8th July. (Ibid. pp. 65, 66.)

respective diocesses, recommending to them to joine in it. His Majestie does not doubt but your lordship will do the same, and not only promote the signing of it in your diocesse, but also amongst the clergy of your acquaintance.

I am, my lord,

Your most humble servant,

SUNDERLAND P.

Bishop of Bristol.

The Bishop of Bristol drew out the following draft of a reply:—

The Bishop to the Earl of Sunderland.

Indorsed.—"An Answer to my Lord President's Letter."

MY LORD,

In obedience to your lordship's commands I have, according to my promise, called the clergy of this place together, and recommended that form of an Addresse to them which your lordship sent me. Upon their refusal to sign, I debated the matter with them, and required them to give the reasons of their dissent, which they were very ready to offer; and, indeed, they were so convincing to me that if I had considered them before I should not have troubled them with this affair.

My Lord, I am now fully satisfyd that this Address, as it visibly tends to the dishonour of this Church, so it will be very prejudicial to his Majesties interest in these parts, and these considerations have such greate weight with me, that nothing else in the world could have hindered me from a full complyance with your lordship in this matter.

My Lord, as I am descended from loyal ancestors, so I have not, through the whole course of my life, in any one instance, departed from those principles of duty to my prince which I derived from them, and am ready to hazard all that is deare to me in this world to

serve his Majestie, and one great reason which sways me in this present concern is, that I am fully perswaded that the signing of this Addresse is not for his Majesties service.

Your Lordship's, &c.

But upon second thoughts, (the bishop adds,) I wrote this answer to my Lord President:—

My Lord, — I am apt to believe your lordship might have expected my further answer to your lordship's much sooner, but I chose rather to deferre my return till I could send a full account of the business proposed to me, which I could not doe till I had the resolutions of the clergy of Dorsetshire, and they came to me very lately. My lord, in obedience to your lordship's commands, and according to my promise, soon after the receipt of your lordship's I called the clergy of this place together, and recommended to them that form of an Addresse which your lordship sent me. There seemed a greate querenesse in them to the signing of it, upon which I required of them the reasons of their dissent, which they were very ready to offer, and they truly seemed to me of so much weight that, had I as fully considered them before, I should have beged leave to have offered my humble opinion, that it seemed not either for the advantage of his Majestie or the honor and interest of the Church of England. However, to make good my promise to your lordship, I ordered it to be sent into Dorsetshire, where by reason of the archdeacon's absence at London it was stopt some time, but afterwards being proposed to the clergy at two meetings it was returned to me signed only by two persons. The parchment is in my hands, which shall be addressed to your lordship according to your command.

I am, your Lordship's, &c.

A memorandum.—Before I called the clergy of Bristol together I let them by Dr. Jane[a] know I would not sign the Addresse, and

[a] William Jane, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, was installed Dean of Gloucester 6th June, 1685.

this was necessary, for several, as 'twas hinted to me, out of feare would otherwise have signed it, but now they refused to a man.

Indorsed.—My answer to the Earl of Sunderland that I and my clergy could not sign the Addresse, &c.

ESSAY SUBMITTED TO BISHOP TRELAWNY BY JOHN ASHLEIGH.[a]

My Lord, March 14, 1702-3.

I send your lordship this last essay, with which I ended the year, and all the concern I design to have in the controversy during my life.

I have from '82 to 1702 been engaged against the old Whigg and the new; and their ancient and modern principles and practises having been ever much the same, a man must say the same things over again if hee should persist to refute them. Nether had I meddled in this matter I send you, but that it moved a little spleen to see a pestilent fellow persisting to justify one of the most malicious and villainous attempts to engage us in another domestick insurrection as well as for the inviting in more foreign force; and I thought wee had had enough of both already, for, at the same time they spread their panick fear of a mock persecution by one pamphlet, they put out another for the breaking through the Act of Settlement, and laying aside the House of Hannover, to bring more Dutchmen upon our backs before their time, for that was the bottom of it; and all this was to have passed for church work, as short work as they made of it too. I lately when at London sent your lordshipp a piece of the *Lex Talionis*, which I beleeve your lordshipp guest to be mine, though it came anonymous; and I cannot but think, if there were some such law in force, that it would be no dis-

[a] This essay, if printed, was probably published anonymously, as the name of Ashleigh does not occur in Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica.

credit or prejudice to the public constitution. This past period of twenty years has afforded us as much matter of reflexion and revolution as any twenty wee have had or may have again in our English annals. I have maintained nothing in it but what I will aver to bee orthodox, and to bee according to our old English principles and constitution; if there have been any new alterations of late made in it, I had no hand in that; and let those Whiggs answer for it who had and have turned an English monarchy almost into a Polish one. My treatment in all reigns has been alike, and so I expect no better in this, unless we had more grandees of your lordship's principle and temper. Wee have I find a miserably divided court and a strongly united faction; and I have read and seen too much what that is wont to end in.

I am,
Your lordship's obedient humble servant,
JOHN ASHLEIGH.

To the Right Reverend Father in God
Jonathan Lord Bishop of Exon.

VISITATION OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

The Bishop to Dr. Radcliffe.[a]

DEAR SIR,

This is no visiting day, and to-morrow I am obliged to go fifteen or sixteen miles to confirm, and yet what I have to say to you is of such importance to me that I must not delay it, for feare lest you should happen unwarily to do me a mischief, which I am sure you would not willingly doe.

I have reason to believe that some of the Fellows of Winchester College may, some how or other, have made friends to you to engage

[a] John Radcliffe, M.D. the celebrated physician.

my Lord Treasurer [a] to countenance them so far as to get an order of council to put a stop to my proceedings in my inquiry into the reasons of their disobeying the injunctions of the Warden and powers of New College.

From the steps which I have already made in this matter, they distrusting the merits of theyr cause, appealed to the Archbishop, insinuating that I only visited them as diocesan; but his Grace, by the Dean of the Arches, being satisfy'd that I acted not as Bishop but as Visitor of the College, dismissed theyr appeal as being sensible he had nothing to do with it.

From him they apply'd to the Lord Keeper [b] for a Commission of Delegacy; but his lordship went out of town without doing any thing in it, as convinced I believe that this matter was only fit for Westminster Hall, there being no one instance, as the lawyers tell me, of its being referred to a Court of Delegates to determine whether a person be Visitor or not, which surely a certain gentleman was not aware of, who broke in upon my Lord Keeper last Wednesday with rudeness and impudence, to hope to have awd his Lordship into a grant of such a Commission, for some men of late days give themselves strange opinions of theyr having made the late change in the Ministry, and upon that account think they may use them at present with familiarity, perhaps command; and I wish they may not think my Lord Treasurer himself to be one of theyr creatures; but, be theyr interest and success what it will, having justice and the laws of the land on my side, I am resolved to go on, and, if I go beyond my powers, no doubt but Westminster Hall will make me sensible of it.

You may (and if you think fit with my service) let the Lord Treasurer know that when the Privy Counsil had layd hold of the business of Exeter College, in hopes to have awd me by the authority of that Board into a submission to their determination, I told them plainly they were no court of judicature, and that I would be

[a] Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. [b] Sir Simon Harcourt.

determined only by Westminster Hall, upon which they left me to the law; and, by the blessing of God, where law, reason, and the founder's will are on my side, no power on earth shall fright, no application persuade, me from doing my duty.

I have been now neare four years, and made three journies on purpose, persuading the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College to make up theyr differences amongst themselves, and if that could not be done to take in the assistance of the Dean and Prebendaries of Winchester, telling them they did not know what mischief they might do themselves by forcing me on a Visitation. Sometimes they gave me hopes that things should be amicably made up; but now, by an encouragement which perhaps they will not be thankfull for, they make it necessary for me.

I should not have given you this trouble, but that I foresee that your interest will be apply'd for by one of the fellows who is your patient, which I am sorry for, becaus if you knew him as well as I do, you could not think him fit to live. I hope you have better thoughts of me than I have of him, and you believe that I am, with the greatest obligation, truth, and respect,

Your most affectionate and
faithfull servant,
JON. WINCHESTER.

For Dr. Radcliffe.

Indorsed.—Copy—July 29, 1711.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND ANECDOTES

BY

WILLIAM TASWELL, D.D.,

SOMETIME RECTOR OF NEWINGTON, SURREY, RECTOR OF BERMONDSEY,

AND PREVIOUSLY

STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

A.D. 1651—1682.

EDITED BY

GEORGE PERCY ELLIOTT, ESQ.

BARRISTER AT-LAW.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC..LII.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS autobiography was originally written in Latin, but has been preserved only in the present translation, which was made by the Author's grandson, the Rev. Henry Taswell, Vicar of Marden, in Herefordshire. The translation has on a fly-leaf the following description:—

"A few anecdotes concerning William Taswell, D.D., Rector of Newington and St. Mary Bermondsey, in Surrey, and his Family. Translated Sept. 1761, after a very poor manner, by H. T., his grandson.

"It is by no means an exact literal translation, but it is a just one as to facts recorded."

The MS. translation is now in the possession of the Editor, together with the Diary of Dr. Taswell's father-in-law, Archdeacon Lake, which was printed in the former volume of the Camden Miscellany.

The GENEALOGY of a FAMILY in the WEST, and COMMENTARIES upon his own LIFE. By W. T., D.D. Translated from the Latin (a thousand faults committed) by H. T.

NOTWITHSTANDING I am sensible that for these seven years past and upwards my attention has been for the most part fixed towards husbandry, or in employment of an inferior nature, I once more put pen to paper; not because I am sensible of the accuracy there will be in my performance—the utmost extent of my abilities giving me little room to hope for this—but only to revive again, if possible, a knowledge of myself and letters, which time and my avocations have somewhat effaced. Now, if Cato at sixty years of age made himself thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, it ought by no means to be deemed preposterous in me for to attempt recovering what I have lost in the Roman language at eight and forty. And if Manlius chose after a life of solitude to reassume his office of Dictator, and busy himself in affairs of state once more, it may the less be wondered at that, in treating of the occurrences of my family, I have recourse to a former custom of expressing my sentiments in Latin. And thus much will suffice by way of introduction.

Concerning the parents and sisters and brothers of W. T., D.D.

Not long after the barbarous murther of Charles the First James Taswell married Elizabeth Upsal, a person accomplished as to her person, sensible, and of a very good extraction. He was a considerable merchant in the Isle of Wight, and connected himself to her March 26th, 1649. On the 29th December, 1649, she brought forth a

daughter, named Maria, who, at eight months old, was unfortunately overlaid through the carelessness of the nurse.

In 1650-1, February 20th, they had a son and heir, James, who at this time enjoys the paternal estate, situated in the parish of Lymington, in the county of Somerset. He is married, has seven children, and his wife already big with child.

The third, William, was born May 1st, 1652, on a Saturday, just after sunset, about eight o'clock, who, in relation to his pedigree, would have this only inserted, viz.: that he was born at a seaport town in the Isle of Wight, called Cowes.

The fourth, Elizabeth, born July 7th, 1653, who resigned her soul into the hands of her great Creator soon after.

The fifth, Elizabeth too, born September 14th, 1654, who still retains her virginity, in imitation of a queen of the same name.

The sixth, still-born, October 13th, 1655.

The seventh, Stephen, born 26th December, 1656, has a wife and four children: he lives at Lymington.

The eighth, Maria, born 2nd of May, 1658. A beautiful girl, indeed, who was hurried out of this world by a precipitate fever, which a too immoderate indulgence in eating of cherries occasioned, to the unspeakable grief of her parents. She was buried at Greenwich, in Kent.

The ninth, Ann, born November, 1659, but died soon after.

The tenth, Hannah, born 30th January, 1660-1, about nine o'clock (about the same hour in which I saw the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, not long before taken out of the royal depository at Westminster, exposed upon Tyburn gallows). She lives at Lymington, with her husband of an abandoned character, and has three or four children.

The eleventh, Thomas, born 1663, April 20, at Greenwich, in Kent, and died at nine months old.

Maria, the twelfth and last of all the children of James and Elizabeth Taswell, born Feb. 1667, which occasioned my poor mother's death, after having lived forty-three years. My mother was buried

near her beloved Maria the second, in the parish church of Greenwich in Kent, not far from the baptismal font.

And now for the particular incidents which occurred from my infancy almost to the age of eighteen.

About the end of March, 1655, James Taswell, Esq., retiring from the Isle of Wight with his wife and three children, settled at a sea-port town, Brithamston, Sussex; where his mother-in-law, my grandmother, lived. In 1656, June, we took a journey to London. In our way thither our coach by some accident was overturned; the consequences of this were these, my eye was cut, though soon healed up again, and the old lady broke her thigh-bone. After residing in an house for the space of a year, in which time all of us were seized with the small-pox (1657), about the middle of summer we took a very grand house in Bear Lane, near the Custom House.

I have something to say by-the-by; when my elder brother was almost blind through the extreme heavy load of the small-pox, myself only had but one pock in my face, and nowhere else, and from that time I was ever free from the contagion of the small-pox, though I frequently visited persons labouring under that infirmity.

But to return—

On the 29th of May I had the pleasure of seeing King Charles the Second return from his exile. He came in procession to Whitehall, riding between his two brothers, Dukes of York and Gloucester, with a fine red plume in his hat, amidst an august assembly of nobles and esquires.*

At the time Oliver died, I remember a gentleman, coming to my father, asked him if he had heard the news; my father replied in the negative: upon which he told him the Protector was dead. My father stood amazed at this.

About the same time I heard my father discourse concerning poison. He said the nature of poisons greatly contradicted each other: some taken in excess were apt to heat; others again pro-

* It is most probable that this word in the original was *equites*, and should have been translated "knights."

duced a quite contrary effect—that of cold. For instance, a certain woman having prepared her husband a draught, mixed two sorts of poison that she might do his business for him with a greater probability of success: either of these separately must have killed him. But one poison tempered the malignity of the other. He said he had heard this story of his father when but five years old.

About the end of the year 1660, about nine years of age, I was admitted into the lowest class of Westminster School.

About 1662 my father bought a good house at Greenwich, though he lived himself the greatest part of his time in town, employed in merchandise.

In the same year, 1662, my grandfather James Taswell, of Dorsetshire, came to town, aged 74, born in the year 1588.* Staying a little time with us only, he soon returned into the country, and took his own servant to wife: he begat a son the same year of her. He departed this life 1663. On the day he was celebrating his wife's birthday, he drank too much wine, which threw him into a fever.

In the year 1663 my schoolmaster, William James, A.M.,† departed this life; Thomas Knipe ‡ succeeded him, since Head

* Baptized at Buckland Newton, 25 July, 1588.

† "William James, scholar of this school under Dr. Busby, elected student of Christ Church, and lastly Second Master of this school. He died the 23rd July, 1663, lamented by all ingenious men that knew him, and was buried near the lower door going into the cloisters."—Dart's History of St. Peter's, Westminster, vol. ii. p. 142. See also Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (by Bliss,) iii. 634.

‡ Thomas Knipe, of Christ Church, B.A. 1660, M.A 1663, B. and D.D. 1695: Head Master of Westminster School 1695, succeeding the famous Busby; Prebendary of Westminster, 1707; died 1711, aged 73. "For the space of fifty years he, in the School of Westminster, labour'd for the promoting piety and learning; and for sixteen years was Head Master there; which province he happily administer'd, being deeply acquainted with the helps of learning, practis'd to indefatigable industry, and made up of the most humane sweetness. From hence he supplied the University with youth versed in the best discipline, many of whom are now ornaments in the church and state; and more there are who now give earnest of being hereafter so." See the rest of Dart's translation of Dr. Knipe's epitaph in the History of Westminster Abbey, ii. 79; and the Latin inscription itself engraved with the monument on the plate at p. 74. It is also printed in Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, vol. i. p. 26. See further of Dr. Knipe, in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (by Bliss,) iv. 643.

Master of Westminster School. About the same time Dr. Busby admitted me above the curtain. The two next years, when Busby took little or no care of the fourth class I was in, I made but little proficiency in my learning.

In 1665, when the plague commenced in town, Dr. Busby removed his scholars to Chiswick.* But it spread its baneful influence even to this place. Upon this Dr. Busby called his scholars together, and in an excellent oration acquainted them that he had presided as Head Master over the school twenty-five years, in which time he never deserted it till now. That the exigency of affairs required every person should go to his respective home. I very greedily laid hold of the opportunity of going to Greenwich, where I remained ten months.

It was a custom peculiar to this unhappy time to fasten up the doors of every house in which any person had died, and after having marked it with a red cross to set up this inscription on them—"The Lord have mercy on them!"

The plague at last reached our house, and we sent two maid-servants to the public pest-house. At the time my father and mother lay sick in different beds, and my eldest brother troubled with a tumour in his thigh; but, no one of our family dying, I was soon set at liberty.

In the month of September, when six thousand were swept away each week, my father commanded me to carry some letters to town. It was not without reluctance I obeyed; but at last my duty got the better of my inclinations, and after he had provided me with the herb called angelica and some aromatics, besides eatables in a bag, my kind and indulgent mother giving me too some Spanish wine, I made the best of my way to town. There a variety of distressed objects presented themselves to me, some under the direct influence of the plague, others lame through swellings, others again beckoning to me, and some carrying away upon biers to be buried. In short

* The house at Chiswick, provided as a residence for the scholars of Westminster in seasons of sickness, is still standing, and has latterly been occupied as a printing-office successively by the Messrs. Whittingham, uncle and nephew.

nothing but death stared me in the face; but it pleased God to extricate me from the danger which threatened me. There were two houses which principally engaged my attention among many others I went to; one belonged to Mrs. Harrison, who was the only survivor of her whole family (seven children). The other was my father's house, kept by a good old faithful servant named Johanna, whom I am bound by ties of gratitude to mention with respect. She had the care of me from my infancy. As soon as she saw me she laid hold of me, and, folding her two arms round my neck, she embraced me and said, "My dear boy, how do you do?" Notwithstanding this I returned safe home to Greenwich, acquainting them with the particulars of my journey. This Johanna was seized with the plague and recovered, only one man-servant with her in the house dying.

In the year 1666, about the Easter week, when the violence of the plague was considerably abated, I revisited Westminster School. It was at that time about the middle of May, and it was the time of election for those who were to be admitted King's Scholars, myself being appointed to succeed as thirteenth. The Christmas following twelve scholars were admitted, the thirteenth vacancy not as yet taking place.

The 4th of May, 1667, I was enrolled a King's Scholar by the Bishop of Rochester, Dean of Westminster. I was extremely maltreated during my seven months and two weeks servitude as junior by the monitors, whom a considerable share of power with which they are invested renders insolent; employed chiefly in performing the menial office of a servant, in consequence of this diverted from my studies, and even when freed from this state of slavery could scarce return to them, indulging a lazy disposition.

And not to pass over in silence that memorable event—the Fire of London, September 2; it happened between my election and admission as scholar. On Sunday, between ten and eleven forenoon, as I was standing upon the steps which lead up to the pulpit in Westminster Abbey, I perceived some people below me running to and

fro in a seeming disquietude and consternation; immediately almost a report reached my ears that London was in a conflagration; without any ceremony I took my leave of the preacher, and having ascended Parliament steps, near the Thames, I soon perceived four boats crowded with objects of distress. These had escaped from the fire scarce under any other covering except that of a blanket.

The wind blowing strong eastward, the flames at last reached Westminster; I myself saw great flakes carried up into the air at least three furlongs; these at last pitching upon and uniting themselves to various dry substances, set on fire houses very remote from each other in point of situation.

The ignorant and deluded mob, who upon the occasion were hurried away with a kind of phrenzy, vented forth their rage against the Roman Catholics and Frenchmen; imagining these incendiaries (as they thought) had thrown red-hot balls into the houses.

A blacksmith, in my presence, meeting an innocent Frenchman walking along the street, felled him instantly to the ground with an iron bar. I could not help seeing the innocent blood of this exotic flowing in a plentiful stream down to his ancles.

In another place I saw the incensed populace divesting a French painter of all the goods he had in his shop; and, after having helped him off with many other things, levelling his house to the ground under this pretence, namely, that they thought himself was desirous of setting his own house on fire, that the conflagration might become more general. My brother told me he saw a Frenchman almost dismembered in Moorfields, because he carried balls of fire in a chest with him, when in truth they were only tennis balls.

In this interval of time, when the fury of the common people burst forth with an irresistible torrent upon these unhappy objects of distress, a report on a sudden prevailed that four thousand French and Papists were in arms, intending to carry with them death and destruction, and increase the conflagration. Upon which every person, both in city and suburbs, having procured some sort of weapon

or other, instantly almost collected themselves together to oppose this chimerical army.

On the next day, John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster (who in the civil wars had frequently stood sentinel), collected his scholars together in a company, marching with them on foot to put a stop if possible to the conflagration. I was a kind of page to him, not being of the number of King's Scholars. We were employed many hours in fetching water from the back side of St. Dunstan's Church in the East, where we happily extinguished the fire.

The next day, Tuesday, just after sunset at night, I went to the royal bridge* in the New Palace [Yard] at Westminster, to take a fuller view of the fire. The people who lived contiguous to St. Paul's church raised their expectations greatly concerning the absolute security of that place upon account of the immense thickness of its walls and its situation; built in a large piece of ground, on every side remote from houses. Upon this account they filled it with all sorts of goods; and besides, in the church of St. Faith, under that of St. Paul's, they deposited libraries of books because it was entirely arched all over; and with great caution and prudence every the least avenue through which the smallest spark might penetrate was stopped up. But this precaution availed them little. As I stood upon the bridge among many others, I could not but observe the gradual approaches of the fire towards that venerable fabric. About eight o'clock it broke out on the top of St. Paul's Church, already scorched up by the violent heat of the air, and lightning too, and before nine blazed so conspicuous as to enable me to read very clearly a 16mo. edition of Terence which I carried in my pocket.

* In the original no doubt *pons regalis;* which should have been translated "The King's Bridge." The landing-place in New Palace Yard was so called, or else Westminster Bridge; and that in Cotton Garden (subsequently Parliament Stairs) was called the Queen's Bridge. See some remarks on these names in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1852, vol. xxxvii. pp. 487, 577.

On Thursday, soon after sunrising, I endeavoured to reach St. Paul's. The ground so hot as almost to scorch my shoes; and the air so intensely warm that unless I had stopped some time upon Fleet Bridge to rest myself, I must have fainted under the extreme languor of my spirits. After giving myself a little time to breathe, I made the best of my way to St. Paul's.

And now let any person judge of the violent emotion I was in when I perceived the metal belonging to the bells melting; the ruinous condition of its walls; whole heaps of stone of a large circumference tumbling down with a great noise just upon my feet, ready to crush me to death. I prepared myself for returning back again, having first loaded my pockets with several pieces of bell metal.

I forgot to mention that near the east walls of St. Paul's a human body presented itself to me, parched up as it were with the flames; whole as to skin, meagre as to flesh, yellow as to colour. This was an old decrepid woman who fled here for safety, imagining the flames would not have reached her there. Her clothes were burnt, and every limb reduced to a coal.

In my way home I saw several engines which were bringing up to its assistance all on fire, and those concerned with them escaping with great eagerness from the flames, which spread instantaneous almost like a wildfire; and at last, accoutred with my sword and helmet, which I picked up among many others in the ruins, I traversed this torrid zone back again.

The papers, half burnt, were carried with the wind to Eton. The Oxonians observed the rays of the sun tinged with an unusual kind of redness. A black darkness seemed to cover the whole hemisphere; and the bewailings of people were great.

It could not be expected that my father's houses should escape this almost general conflagration. They shared the same fate with others. But what rendered our loss still greater was this: certain persons, assuming the character of porters, but in reality nothing else but downright plunderers, came and offered their assistance in removing our goods: we accepted; but they so far availed them-

selves of our service as to steal goods to the value of forty pounds from us.

There was a large vaulted cellar under our house, where my father kept particular sorts of wood, and some combustible matter, too, for the sake of making some experiments. These were found entire afterwards, contrary to what I had observed in other like places where great citizens placed fuel in, &c. The fire was not extinguished four months afterwards.

About the beginning of the year 1670, the funeral obsequies of General Monk were celebrated; previously to which a royal vault was opened in which were two urns; one appropriated to Queen Mary, the other to Queen Elizabeth. I dipped my hand into each. I took out of each a kind of glutinous red substance, somewhat resembling mortar. That of Mary only contained less moisture.

The 2nd of May, 1670, the public election came on. Electors, Dr. Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford; Dr. Compton, Sub-Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of London: these from Oxford. From Cambridge—Dr. Pierson, Master of Trinity College, afterwards Bishop of Chester, with his Assessor.

Candidates:—

William Breach, M.D., and now student of Christ Church.

William Taswell.

Daniel Skinner, afterwards student of Christ Church.

Samuel Fisher, whom I succeeded in my rectory at Norwich.*

Acton Cremer.

Martin Joyce, who in 1672 died at Cambridge.

Egedius Thornbury,† now Chaplain to Lord Northumberland.

Samuel Willson, now Rector of a church in Ireland.

Morer, Harper, and Mapledoft I had forgot.

It was the 4th day of May when the statutes of Queen Elizabeth were read relating to the election, in which are inserted these words

* So the MS. but it should be Wood Norton, co. Norfolk.

† Giles Thornbury, of Brazenose College, graduated B.A. Oct. 26, 1686.

—tres jubeo, plures opto. Therefore the electors consigned four to Oxford and as many to Cambridge. Each of these universities have the preference in election by rotation; but in 1670 Oxford elected first. The Oxonians first elected Breach. The Cantabrigians, Mapledoft. The former again proposed Harper, a young man of learning, but void of morals; therefore, being superseded, they elected William Taswell. The latter, however, admitted Harper. The Oxonians again proposed Skinner, proud, empty, and void of learning; therefore, superseding him, they chose Samuel Fisher, of a very good heart, and studious besides. The Cantabrigians, however, elected Skinner.

The other two were Cremer and Joyce; the former to Oxford, the other to Cambridge; so that Breach, Taswell, Fisher, and Cremer, were elected for Oxford; and Mapledoft, Harper, Skinner, and Joyce for Cambridge.

The three remaining candidates were Morer, Thornbury, and Willson. However, by the recommendation of the Earl of Montgomery, his godfather, Willson was enrolled among the Christ Church ones.

About the end of June following we took our leave of Westminster, and on the 29th of the same month, St. Peter's day, we reached Oxford.

The next day I was admitted with the rest into college, and soon after matriculated. We all of us lived as commoners till the 19th of December, when we were enrolled as students. I had a separate room allowed me, without the inconvenience of chumming, and prosecuted my studies alone. I wainscoted this room, and lived in it thirteen years.

In the next year, 1673, my father married Elizabeth Kingsmill, sister of one of the same name, with a fortune of six hundred pounds, at Andover. Soon after the wedding I was sent for to Greenwich, and after staying there a month I returned to college.

My father indulged his new bride so far as to esteem all his children for nought in comparison of her. He withdrew his allow-

ance from them all, that he might live more luxuriously with her. Upon this account my elder brother went into the navy, and was in three engagements against the Dutch; and afterwards retired to India in the East as a merchant. My younger brother sailed to Jamaica, where he remained till my father's death. My elder sister lived as an attendant on a lady formerly a messmate of hers. My younger sister determined to submit to all the drudgery at home rather than seek her victuals out from home. I, in the meantime (my allowance being withdrawn), lived at Oxford in a state of great indigence. Which way to turn myself I knew not; or how I should extricate myself from debt was a question. If parsimony and frugality would have enabled me to keep within bounds, I should have thought myself happy. But my necessary expenses would have run away with my allowance if it had been doubled. The misfortune too was, I was not old enough to go into orders, and incapable too of any employment which might render my circumstances easy in life. And as I was always looked upon as a gentleman, I was ashamed to lay open the real exigency of my affairs; and, on the other hand, to be thought covetous and close-fisted because I withdrew myself from my acquaintance by an act of necessity only, I own galled me extremely; therefore a sad melancholy seized me. I spent my time for whole weeks chiefly in walking about my room. I could not apply my mind to study. If I attempted to read any thing, my thoughts wandered elsewhere. I wrote to my father several times, and entreated him to send me sixteen pounds at least, since the rest had not less than twenty; or, if he would not comply with this, to portion me out 1,020*l.* for my fortune, and I promised him in return to forego my claim to everything afterwards. He alleged that my income at college was sufficient to maintain me; and, to conceal his barbarity under a more plausible form, accused me of crimes which to this day I never was guilty of, and which rendered me unworthy of his paternal care, as he pretended.

However, at last, being overcome by the pressing solicitations of my friends as well as my own, he sent me ten pounds; but with so

ill a grace, and so many reproaches, as to injure me in the very act itself.

In this year the statue of king Charles the Second on horseback was placed upon the Conduit;* and, as there was wanting an inscription to it, I composed these verses by order of the Dean:—

Carole, cum totum tenes (maris arbiter) orbem,
Et salit ad domini subdita lympha pedes,
Æquoreo sumas insignia debita regi,
Excelsusque premas terga frementis equi.
Neptuni poteras sed contempsisse tridentem,
Regali gestas qui tria sceptra manu.

An anecdote by the way—About this time one Peter Birch† (now Prebendary of Westminster), who was educated for four years, and deeply tinged with fanatic principles in that time, never putting on an academical habit, nor gaining admittance into any college, but privately instructed by a tutor, changed his sentiments in religious matters, conforming himself to the Church of England as by law established. In consequence of which he petitioned the Convocation that, after having performed the exercises, he might be admitted A.B. and then A.M. immediately. This they consented to; and myself, willing to do him any service that lay in my power, opposed him, and responded *vice versâ* previous to his being made senior Soph.

In 1673, Jonathan Trelawny, then student of Christ Church, now Bishop of Exeter, being to determine, desired me to answer Under Bachelor for him, which I did.

June 23, 1673, my wife, Francisca Lake, was born.

In the beginning of the year 1674, I was examined by W. Short-

* Carfax conduit. See an engraving of this public monument (now removed to Nuneham Courtenay) in Skelton's Oxonia Illustrata.

† B.A. March 23, 1673; M.A. June 23, 1674; B.D. Feb. 4, 1683; D.D. July 7, 1688. He died July 4, 1710, and was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, near St. Benet's chapel.—Dart, ii. 72.

grove,* Fellow of Wadham, for my degree of A.B. He is now rector of a church near Northampton.

About this time my father sent me fourteen pounds, but took care to reproach me so heavily as determined me never to correspond with him again, unless I could be certain of his treating me with more humanity. A profound silence thereupon succeeded for eighteen months.

I took my degree in Easter term, 1674.

Having received no supplies from my father, I began to think of living with frugality.

Several advantages accrued to me from taking my degree. 1. I saved four pounds per year, which I used to pay my tutor; 2. Was moderator at disputations, which brought me four pounds; 3. The Dean,† hearing of my father's ill-treatment of me, frequently made me a present of two pounds, at the same time telling me it was designed as a reward of merit. Besides, my studentship was of greater emolument to me after I had taken my degree than before. Under these advantages I supported myself, 1674.

1675 was appointed by Busby examiner of the Hebrew tongue; this was an addition of six pounds more. The Dean gave me this year four pounds.

In 1675, after I had determined in Lent, and having bought a horse, I took a jaunt to Andover, where my father-in-law,‡ John Kingsmill, Esq., treated me with great civility.

Before I returned to college I saw Old and New Salisbury, Winchester, and Wilton House, which is the seat of the Earl of Pembroke.§ In the gardens of this were very curious waterworks. There was a rock with a bird sitting on it on one side; on the other

* William Shortgrave, B.A. 1670; M.A. 1673.

† Dr. Fell.

‡ This must be another mis-translation. Mr. Kingsmill was probably the brother of his step-mother. See before, p. 15.

§ The fullest account of Wilton House at this period is contained in Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire, printed for the Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1847, 4to.

side were some waters conveyed through pipes, which on its rising and falling resembled greatly the warbling of birds. In another place there was a looking-glass, in which, if any lady beheld her face, a pipe under her feet was sure to convey the water to her thighs. If a man was curious in that way too, a pipe constructed behind him would convey the water into his breeches. In another place water was conveyed instantly out of a pavement with a prodigious force indeed, and so as to be raised six ells by degrees; when the water rose three ells, a pine-apple was seen upon the top; and the water still rising, together with the pine-apple, when it had got six ells high, one might observe the pine-apple sporting and playing upon the surface of the water. In another place, the waters gushing out on both sides of me, formed a kind of arch over me, so that any one might walk without wetting himself under it, the same as if under a shade of elms.

In the house I observed the marble of a certain room over the fire-place was so finely polished as to reflect, with the same perspicuity as a looking-glass, the spire of Salisbury church, three miles distant from the house.

From thence I went to Southampton, a seaport town. The passage from this place to the Isle of Wight was commodious enough. Southampton is distant from the Isle of Wight six leagues; a small bay of the sea intervenes, two leagues in breadth. About five leagues from Southampton, a long bed of sand shows itself, distant four miles from the right shore, and above eight miles from the left, which is called the Brambles. The ships commonly go the broader way, the left. But the master of our vessel, having unloosed his sails in expectation of receiving aboard John Croft, merchant of Southampton, resolved to go the shortest way to the right, in order to recover the time he lost in that interview. Evening was now coming on, and a strong eastward wind; nevertheless, he persevered in his primary intention. A strong tempest now rising, he was unable to guide the ship. That which held the sail that went across the top of the mast being torn away with great violence, the sail was

driven away, and an opening made into it bigger than the circumference of a man's body. In vain did the men attempt to keep the midway of the channel; the vessel drove upon the sands, and remained fast there. We were astonished what would become of us, and consulting means for our preservation. Having myself swam across the Thames, I thought if the worst happened I should be able to swim to shore.

I persuaded my cousin Kingsmill to lay hold of some table or any other fragment of the ship, or to get upon the top of the vessel when overturned. We had with us a clergyman of some church in the Isle of Wight; he sent up his prayers to God for our deliverance. If the sea had left us, the ship must have necessarily fallen on its side; but the waves gradually rising, we were somewhat higher as to the vessel. But night approaching, we knew not which way to steer our course. We began to anticipate greater difficulties than those we had just escaped. Some people from off the island seeing our wreck immediately came to our assistance with a boat. We disengaged ourselves from our ship with no small joy, and late at evening reached the island, situated like a vast mountain in the middle of the sea. My cousin was the first that landed. The seamen cautioned him a good deal against falling down upon the sea pebbles. He on the other hand, confident of himself, marching forward and treading very hard upon the ground, at last fell into a hole. I could not help smiling at this. For my own part, notwithstanding I held by a seaman, I could not prevent my feet from sliding. I at that time smoked tobacco, and, meeting with some homeward-bound Virginia ship, bought 64 ounces of the best Virginia for one shilling only.

I left my own steed behind me at Southampton. The next morning I mounted an hired one, and went with my cousin to see Carisbrook Castle, the place of King Charles's confinement in the civil wars. It stands upon a very high eminence, difficult of access every way. Within the walls of the castle there was a fine bowling-green, which was frequently made use of. In the governor's bedchamber was a bed which, as to curtains and covering, consisted of the bark

of an Indian tree. There was likewise a very deep well which an ass used to drink out of by going down from the top of it and walking round it.*

I saw a stag with one horn only here. This stag when it was young, through fear, leaped up upon one of the battlements, and then fell down into the castle ditch; by this accident her thigh was broken, and besides hurt as to her natural growth, having only one horn, which projected in the middle of the forehead.

Being content with what I had seen, and having called upon some of my relations, I went back directly to Southampton. The next day I reached Andover, and a little after arrived at Oxford.

Having finished my jaunt and sold my horse, I received at Oxford two letters; one from my elder brother, and the other from my elder sister, in which they complained of their poverty. I sent the former four pounds, and the latter ten shillings, though poor myself.

Thomas Lidyat this year wrote† the Chronological Canons in English. These the Dean of Christ Church determined to have translated into Latin verse. This affair was delegated to two persons, one of whom was myself, the other Peter Birch, Master of Arts, but not of the Latin tongue.

After this, being assisted by Nathaniel Lye, now Archdeacon of Gloucester,‡ William Breach, Samuel Fisher, Charles King, now student, we collated together the Greek Testament, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Quintilian, with manuscripts appertaining to each, in order to publish new editions.

Towards the end of this year, 1675, I received letters from my father, in which he said he thought better of me, because I received

* It is not very clear what is meant by this; probably, as at the present time, the ass goes into a large hollow wooden wheel, and, by climbing up the steps inside it, turns the cylinder on which the well-rope is coiled; by this means he draws up the water in a bucket. The well is said to be three hundred feet deep.

† Canones Chronologici, necnon Series Summorum Magistratorum, et Triumphorum Romanorum. Oxon, 1675. 8vo. This work was then first published from a MS. in the library of Dr. John Lamphire, Principal of Hart Hall, Oxford. Lydyat died in 1646.

‡ Nathaniel Lye, of Brazenose, B.A. 1668, M.A. 1671, Archdeacon of Gloucester 1714, died 1737.

some sort of countenance from learned men; he sent me at the same time four pounds. Hence I began to form expectations of recovering my former allowance; but as soon as the affair of money came upon the carpet we were enemies again.

The Dean proposed in the chapter that an annual exhibition, one of those originally intended to assist poor students, might be assigned to me. But this was objected to by a Canon now living, who made answer that these exhibitions were set apart for those who have no parents, or such as could not well support them—that my father had 1500*l.* a year, and that by assigning this to me they might encourage other parents to follow his example, and throw off the burden of educating their children. This objection was allowed.

In 1676, the Dean proposed for me to take a school with a salary of 50*l.*; and likewise to get me tutor to two young noblemen's sons near Oxford. But I preferred poverty for the present instead of receiving a decent maintenance and excluding myself the university, and all further prospects besides there. When money failed me I sold my books, the least necessary ones; and besides was elected Moderator.

I took my brother's behaviour to me amiss in that, sending goods from India to the amount of 40*l.*, he never made any acknowledgment for the favours I had conferred upon him.

This year died my younger sister Mary, who being born just before my mother died in childbed, was never hearty since; my mother complained at that time of her ill state of health, and, growing every day weaker, died on the twelfth day after her birth, having baffled the efforts of the ablest physician. This my eldest sister related.

This year, 1676, as my father was overlooking the workmen employed in building his new seat in Somersetshire,* he stood close by the garden wall. In this interval came up a waggon loaded with stone; the horses taking fright made immediately towards the wall, and pressed the waggon against my father in such a manner that unless the wall had given way this must have been the last day

* Situate in the parish of Limington, near Ilchester. The family arms are still to be seen on the front of the old manor-house, but the property has passed into other hands.

my father would ever have seen. Nevertheless, my father kept his bed for six weeks wrapped up in flannel, and never was well after it.

In 1677 I was to take my degree of A.M. I wanted for this purpose 10*l.* The Dean gave me 2*l.*, my father 6*l.* voluntary; this was the last I ever received from him. Henry Parkhurst, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, examined me for my degree. I was now very poor myself; notwithstanding, I always gave something every day to the poor, which I observed for several years with great strictness.

After I had taken my degree, I was taken sick in a coffee-house as I was smoking my pipe, and, being very sick as to my stomach, I went out of doors and threw my dinner up, for which reason I never smoked afterwards.

This year the Bishop* thought fit to publish a more correct edition of St. Cyprian.† He made use of me in comparing the manuscripts with the original texts.

The Bishop this year advised me to go into orders, and told me he would think of me. I deferred the affair, preferring college to the country.

Two things happened to produce a coldness between me and the Bishop of Oxford:—first, an election for Public Orator, Dr. South,‡

* Dr. Fell, late Dean of Christ Church, had been raised to the see of Oxford in Jan. 1676.

† Oxon. 8vo, 1678. St. Cyprian was a great favourite with Bishop Fell. He completed an edition of his works in folio, Oxon, 1682; having published a translation of his treatise on the Unity of the Church in 1681, 4to. "Having assisted Bishop Fell, the pious and learned editor of St. Cyprian, in comparing several manuscripts, in order to his new edition, by this means I became well acquainted with the writings of that primitive father; which may serve as an excuse for my quoting him so often, if it needs any apology. The schismaticks of his time, and those of the hierarchy that countenanced them, were so like some that have since appeared, that the pictures which he has drawn of Novatus, Novatianus, and Stephanus (Epist. 52, 55, 60, 74, and 75), if exposed to publick view, would be taken for modern faces."—Postscript to Dr. Taswell's Artifices and Impostures of False Teachers.

‡ Robert South, B. and D.D., 1663.

Canon of Christ Church, having resigned after a faithful discharge of that office for eight years.

The competitors—Mr. Manningham,* now D.D. of New College; Mr. Bayley, now D.D.,† Magdalene College.

Bayley had made several excellent speeches in convocation—a prudent man, and unblemished as to his morals.

Manningham never spoke but once before the university, and in a trifling manner too, always cutting low jokes and little to the purpose. He endeavoured to avail himself greatly by exciting laughter. Nevertheless, our Bishop became an advocate for him, through the intercession of the Warden of New College ‡; myself, on the contrary, contracting a great intimacy with the people of Magdalen, promised to vote of their side. Many people kept their vote in suspense, waiting to see which side the Bishop would vote. This servility I always detested.

After the candidates were declared, I gave my vote to my friends. When the day of election was come, the Bishop, imagining his party would carry it, left no stone unturned in favour of Manningham. He made an oration before us all, and told us how powerful we were at elections in comparison of other colleges upon account of the number of our votes; nevertheless said, we for the most part carried on matters so imprudently as not to influence elections more than the least colleges; for as in conjunction we might produce seventy votes, so, when torn to pieces by different and contrary interests, we seldom brought more than ten votes on one side, whereas the least college in the university united among themselves exceeded us by two votes. Therefore he exhorted us to agree and prove a counterbalance to the rest. This was plausible enough, but not sincere; for in other elections, when he distrusted the strength of his own party, he spoke nothing concerning unity, but left every one

* Thomas Mannyngham, B.A. 1673; M.A. 1676; but he did not proceed to the degree of D.D. at Oxford.

† Thomas Bayley, B.A. 1662.; M.A. 1665; B.D. 1675; D.D. 1684.

‡ John Nicholas, D.D. then Vice-Chancellor.

to vote as he pleased; and this was as it should be, when we consider that every one is obliged by his oath to choose a proper person for that office. Nevertheless we went over to the Bishop's side, and promised our votes, which was the more shocking as it is probable that motives of interest or fear prevailed most, and as it is ordained by the statutes that no person be acquainted except the proctors with your manner of voting, or whom you shall give your vote to, and they are sworn not to divulge it.

When the scrutiny came, Bayley had the majority by one. A great dispute arose upon this, and Manningham's friends started many reasons for not giving the affair up; in short, what should have been construed an injury against us, they by the influence of some considerable person justified as a meritorious act. We went to convocation, and each person voted his own particular way. After we had been there an hour, Dr. Bouchier,* an explainer of the statutes, raised an objection which sunk the expectations of Bayley's friends. It is provided by the statutes, that every person who chooses to stand for this office shall present himself in convocation, and declare by oath that he has not used any mercenary methods to procure a vacancy. Bayley was at this time in Gloucestershire, and therefore they said all his votes were not of the least service to him: neither would the Vice-Chancellor, who was of New College, permit Bayley's friends to vote again, because they had taken an oath to name only one person for once. This enraged us a good deal, to have so many votes cut off. Immediately that party whom we expected to have swallowed up by a majority of votes declared themselves free, since Bayley's election would not stand, and there were not wanting many attempts to draw me over on the side of the Bishop; but it was in vain; I stood by the people of Magdalen that time, and presently we put in nomination William Cradocke,† a fellow of that college. The whole convocation resounded in favour

* Thomas Bouchier, of All Souls' College, D.C.L. 1663.

† B.A. 1678, M.A. 1681, Proctor 1689, B.D. 1690, D.D. 1693.

of Cradocke; and after having taken the oath he was elected Public Orator.

Another thing happened this year which exasperated the Bishop of Oxford against me. William Lancaster, A.B. of Queen's College, now D.D. and Rector of St. Martin's,* was very insolent and saucy to Mr. Clerke, of All Souls',† now Proctor, and formerly of Christ Church, and besides was very rude to Mr. Fisher, my fellow-companion,‡ a modest and learned man, and this, too, in the public walk of the schools, contrary to that reverence which the statutes required him to pay his seniors; the contempt which he shewed upon the occasion being a just reason for deferring his degree one twelvemonth, unless satisfaction was immediately given to the party injured. That the Proctor, therefore, might have redress for this attack upon him, he was obliged to ask public pardon upon his knees in convocation, acknowledging the heinousness of his offence; but at the same time that he performed this, laughed at him in his sleeve, and putting out his tongue made faces at him several times; and, after he had just asked pardon, said that he should not be able to prevent himself from heaping fresh reproaches upon him. He held Mr. Fisher in so much disdain as absolutely to refuse asking him pardon; therefore when he petitioned for his grace, in order to be admitted A.M., I held up and put a negative to it three times, and gave in my reasons in writing to the Vice-Chancellor, as the statutes require. Then he spoke to Fisher, and in a suppliant manner asked him pardon; Mr. Fisher, being a good-natured man, pardoned him at once. At the same time the Provost of Queen's persuaded the Bishop to call to me, and desire me to withdraw my objections. The Bishop called to me, not in a friendly manner, but rather seemed to dictate with a kind of magisterial tone how I should act. Myself having suffered myself frequently to be led, and seldom compelled to

* William Lancaster, B.A. 1674, M.A. 1678, B.D. 1690, D.D. 1692; afterwards Provost of Queen's.

† John Clerke, of Christ Church, B.A. 1669; of All Souls', M.A. 1673.

‡ Probably Samuel Fisher, of Christ Church, B.A. 1674, M.A. 1677.

do any thing, answered that I stood up in defence of the Proctor, and, unless he had satisfaction made him, could not desert his cause. His grace proposed the next day passed the majority of the convocation, Fisher himself voting for him.

About the end of this year, William Cradocke, Public Orator, died; and my tutor, William Wyat,* student of Christ Church, succeeded him.

I always observed this (though not obliged to it), never to omit going to prayers once in a day at least; and I would have observed this my whole life if possible, but different situations require different means of religious worship.

This year I read a book wrote by the author of The Whole Duty of Man, upon Contentedness,† and which proved a source of great comfort to me in my troubles afterwards.

I will mention some verses I composed in 1677 upon the marriage of the Prince of Orange with Mary the daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards Queen of England:

AD PRINCIPEM.

Julia, cum Cæsar Pompeio bella parabat,
Distulit ambobus sanguine juncta duces.
Hinc Cæsar Gallos petiit victricibus armis,
Subjecitque suo Celtica colla jugo.
Sic tibi cum socero sit conjux federis auctrix,
Sentiat et vires Gallia victa tuas.
Ad pugnam socios ne provocet Anglia Belgas,
Sed quæ vos jungunt vincula, regna ligent.

VOTUM PRO REDITU.

Fœlici redeas tandem cum conjuge cursu,
Neve maris facies torva retardet iter;

* B.A. 1662, M.A. 1665.

† "The Art of Contentment, by the Author of The Whole Duty of Man," was first published in 1675, at the Theatre in Oxford.

Securos certè servabit pontus amantes,
Fertur amatorum qui peperisse Deam.
Concita plus solito si surgunt æquora, tantum
Saltat successu lætior unda tuo.

About the end of this year, 1679, not yet initiated into holy orders, I performed the part of Respondent in the Divinity School for a term, in the absence of Mr. Gold.

Opponents, Zachariah Isham,* now D.D., and Rector of a church near the Bishop's Gate, in London, and Magister Bayley,† now D.D. and Principal of New-inn-hall, in the University of Oxford.

Questions:—

An ulla lege divina teneantur Christiani ad observationem Sabbati?—Neg.

An præceptum de Sabbato fuit ceremoniale?—Aff.

We disputed a long time; and, after the affair was ended, Dr. Allestrey,‡ who frequently officiated for the King's Professor of Divinity, having descended the rostrum, came and thanked me for disputing. I forgot to mention that he went to Dr. Fell, afterwards, and told him I was worthy of his particular favour and esteem.

The end of the year 1679.

About the beginning of this year, 1680, the Bishop of Oxford, who had neglected me for two years, committed six young pupils to my care. After this Roger Sheldon, a relation of the bishop's, recommended another; Richard Roderick, another; Mr. Allestrey, a relation of the Royal Professor, another; Dr. Jane, another.

After this I never was without money as long as I stayed in the university. I bought several books, clothes, a silver-hilted sword,

* Zaccheus Isham, of Christ Church, B.A. 1671, M.A. 1674, B.D. 1682, D.D. 1689. He was Rector of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, and of Solihull, co. Warwick; a Prebendary of Canterbury and St. Paul's; and died 1705. See Baker's Northamptonshire, i. 264.

† Thomas Bayley, of Christ Church, B.A. 1670, of New Inn Hall, M.A. 1673, Principal of that Hall, 1684, B. and D.D. 1687.

‡ Richard Allestree, of Christ Church, created D.D. Oct. 1660, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Provost of Eton.

a gold watch, and many cups, besides a great number of bows and arrows, with which I exercised myself sometimes, and at no small price. In short, whatever my desire could fancy I had.

Having a good while sustained the want of necessaries, and contracting a sort of melancholy, I thought nothing so likely to animate me as an abundance of every thing. But even all these daily experience made me sensible of their nauseousness, and when I had got for the present what I thought would satisfy me, there was yet something wanting to complete my desires. And not being quite dismayed in adversity I grew nice in prosperity, and bore the frowns of fortune with a more even temper than I did its smiles. I knew ethics well enough to dispute upon any subject, but knew not well how to calm my passions or regulate my life properly from my study of them. I gave diligent attendance to my pupils, and loved them as children; and took especial care not to permit any thing which might prove a bad precedent. If I was wrong in anything, it was by exercising too much lenity rather than acts of severity.

In 1681 the Parliament met at Oxford; but it was soon dissolved, because attempts were made to exclude James Duke of York the succession. About this time James Hyde, uncle to Queen Mary, who was going into Scotland with James Duke of York, made me a visit. A sad accident prevented his arrival there—the loss of his ship at sea.

Afterwards I went to London to see my father, from whom I had been absent ten years. As soon as he saw me he said, How came you here? I answered him, that I came to pay him a visit. He answered, he could wish I would stay till I was sent for. Upon which I told him I would comply with his request for the future. After perceiving his disposition, I took my seat, and he began to talk familiarly with me, and advised me to take orders.

I contracted an intimacy with Sir Edward Dering,* Knight and

* Sir Edward Dering, of Surenden Dering in Kent, the second Baronet, son of Sir Edward the learned antiquary and parliamentary orator. He represented Kent in Parliament from 1660 until his death in 1684, and was a Commissioner of the Treasury.

Baronet, President of the merchants who trafficked to Hudson's Bay, and went to see him. I drank some Spanish wine, six years old, out of a golden cup presented to him by the merchants. He was well versed in the Latin tongue as well as Greek, but most of all addicted to the study of astrology, and to calculating nativities. I often disputed with him upon that topic, though with modesty, lest I should offend him. He, on the contrary, defended that study, and desired me to employ some of my vacant hours in it. He desired me to meet him at a tavern; where, being arrived, there were present besides, Bernard* doctor of physic, and his brother† a surgeon, esteemed the most skilful in his way, and John Gadbury.‡ This man calculated my nativity according to the strict rules of astrology, and gave it me into my hand. I received it, but not with a confidence that what he wrote was true. If you go upon certainty, says I, only foretell to me two or three events, which if they should happen would infallibly render me a proselyte of yours; but, if otherwise, shall expect you to desert so vain and empty a pursuit.

After consulting each other, Dering and Gadbury came to me and told me that they themselves would give no credit to their profession if these three circumstances they were going to relate did not actually come to pass.

1. That Charles II., after the burial of Queen Catherine, would have a son of another wife, who should be born after his death.

2. That Louis XIV. would die in 1682.

3. That the Earl of Shaftesbury, who at that time favoured the rebellion, would be beheaded.

So much for astrology, since the greatest champions for it never

* Francis Bernard, M.D., physician to King James the Second: see an account of his library, and his epitaph, in Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, vol. iv. p. 105.

† Charles Bernard, serjeant-surgeon to Queen Anne in 1702: of whom see the same work, in the page preceding the last reference.

‡ Some curious notices of this famous astrologer have been collected by Mr. Blencowe in his Sydney Papers.

could judge with certainty concerning future contingencies. I always esteemed astrology among those "curious arts," whose advocates, after they were converted to Christ by the Apostles, came and burnt their books in the presence of the multitude, and it is evident from the Epiphany that this study was prohibited by the Apostles. Therefore, returning to college, I could not be easy till I had thrown the account of my nativity in the fire. Dering foretold happy times for me from 36 until 48 years of my age, when he said I should have a bastard. In this interval I spent my time unhappy and inglorious. With regard to my having a bastard, the 48 years passed by me, when I had never laid with any other woman but my own wife.

In 1681 Mr. Clerke, who in 1678 had been Proctor and Fellow of Allsouls, being rector and patron of a living, and having 400*l.* left him by his father, sent letters to me and invited me to be his curate, promising me 50*l.* per annum to serve for him: he at this time laboured under an ill state of health. I forgot to mention that I was to have my table besides. I excused myself in that I was not in orders, and the more readily declined serving it because I thought I should be promoted if I stayed longer in the university. Not long after, Mr. Clerke died, and I did not, I think, enough consult my own profit in refusing this offer. But I never was of that disposition to covet riches any further than as they administered to the necessaries and conveniences of life. Yet, by the way, I never thought them contemptible; but at that time I was more desirous of honour than riches. This I will not deny.

About the end of this year, when a melancholy entirely seized me, I wrote many meditations and soliloquies, which comforted me, and feigned certain admonitions as coming from my deceased mother, in order that they might make a deeper impression.

The Church of England has appointed many days of abstinence, in which there is no supper provided at college. These nights were so far from being kept as they should be, that we commonly lived more sumptuously than usual, at inns or coffee-houses. Cramming

myself with meat and drink, this way of living hurt me so much that, sometimes laying myself down on my back, at others on my belly, at others on one side, I could not sleep, and a κεφαλαλγία troubled me. To repel this disease, I resolved for the future to live more abstemiously, and to abstain from intemperance of drinking. But this was but idle; for I broke this resolution continually, either in complying with the pressing solicitations of my friends, or in being ensnared by the deceitfulness of wine and its enchantments. Therefore, to conquer this evil habit of mine, I thought it necessary to bind myself under a religious vow. But, fearing lest I might break this through a weakness of my own, I consented to it under certain restrictions, and to this purpose, viz.: I will abstain by the assistance of God from intemperance; if I offend myself I will give sixpence or a shilling to the poor; and lest I should deprive myself of a freedom of choice I do not make this a perpetual obligation, but only a temporary one. Besides, lest I should forget myself and have recourse to my former gratifications, and persuade myself that I only meditated such a vow, but never made it, I committed the affair to writing; and to the end that it might not be understood by any of the college servants in case it should fall into their hands, I expressed myself in Greek verse,—

Ὄστρεα καὶ καρποὺς μέτ' ἀνάκλισιν Ἡελίοιο
Οὔκ ἐθέλω φαγεῖν, ἢ μέγα δεῖπνον ἔδειν,
Οὐδὲ πιεῖν τρίτατον τὸ ποτήριον ἀμφικύπελλον·
Καὶ γὰρ χθὲς κεφαλὴ λίαν ἔχεσκε κακῶς,
Οὐδὲ γλυκύς βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανεν ὕπνος ἐμοῖσιν.
Τούτου μαρτὺρ ἔσῃ μηνὰς ἐς ἕπτα, Θεός.

About Christmas 1681 I was made Greek Professor of Christ Church, and the next year Censor.

1681-2, 2nd March, I was admitted a Deacon, five years after taking my Master of Arts degree, by bishop Fell; and three months afterwards, 1682, June 11, admitted into Priest's orders by the same bishop.

I have many things to relate concerning the Parliament at Oxford, and other public affairs, as well as those of a private nature concerning myself. But I am weary of my undertaking, which begins to increase into a bulk; and, as my avocations abroad call me, I here break off the thread of my narration.

Note by the Grandson of the Author.

This is continued down only to the 31st year of his age, 1682, so that from that time till 1724, there is no mention made of himself or family. I wish he had continued his history on, as I am persuaded from other accounts that several very remarkable occurrences must have happened to himself and [family] in that time. I am afraid some misfortunes amidst various other contingencies stifled the whole. This interval of silence was at least 42 years.*

Some occurrences mentioned by him in—

1724, October 26. Since many things will happen to me, though 73 years of age, which I should be desirous of knowing afterwards, I have committed them to writing, not choosing to trust them to my memory, which may fail me.

January 10, 1723-4. Stephan Heath, Rector of Bermondsey, died.

February 11, 1723-4, was presented to that living by the Bishop of Winchester,† and inducted into it the next day.

* The translator made these remarks in apparent forgetfulness of the statement made by his grandfather in the introductory paragraph, that the memoirs had not been commenced until the author was forty-eight years of age, that is, in the year 1700. At that period Dr. Taswell seems to have surmounted the principal difficulties of his career, and in the concluding passage he had assigned his own reasons for discontinuing the task—namely, that he was tired of it, and had other avocations.

† It appears from the History of Surrey, by Manning and Bray, vol. i. p. 214, that Dr. Taswell was presented to the bishop of Winchester for institution to the rectory of Bermondsey, by William Browning, fellmonger, of that parish, who had purchased a term in the advowson, and who afterwards, on Dr. Taswell's resignation in February, 1726-7, presented his son, the Rev. William Browning, M.A.

The same day Mr. Forester obtained from the aforesaid bishop a licence to serve as curate, to whom I paid 50*l.* per annum.

August 31, 1724, I received of William Scrivener, 7*l.* 14*s.* being half the interest of 308*l.*, which I lent towards repairing the church of Newington, of which I was rector.

September 3. I lent the said William Scrivener 62*l.* due to the mason, for the same use.

September 17. I lent 35*l.* to the same man, due to Thomas Adams, plumber.

Therefore now the churchwardens of the aforesaid church owe me 405*l.*

The history of the author, subsequently to the autobiography, so far as it has been preserved, was as follows:—

He proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, March 25, 1685; and to that of D.D., July 11, 1698.

He was instituted to the rectory of Wood Norton, in Norfolk,* on the presentation of the Dean and Canons of Christ Church, in the year 1691; and exchanged that benefice in 1698, with Edward Stillingfleet, M.D. (son of the Bishop of Worcester), for the rectory of Newington, Surrey. In 1723-4 he was instituted also to the rectory of Bermondsey (as stated in his own memorandum already given); this he held for three years, and then resigned it to the Rev. William Browning, whose father had a term in the advowson.

At Newington Dr. Taswell "inserted in the parish register much useful information concerning the glebe land, tithes, and other emoluments of the church, and some notes relating to his predecessors and the state of the parish. He is supposed to have been the author of an anonymous pamphlet written to contradict the exaggerated

* In Blomefield and Parkin's History of Norfolk, iv. 455, his name is misprinted Faswell.

account of a cure performed at Newington, by Roger Grant, an oculist, on a boy born blind. In Grant's narrative, Dr. Taswell is falsely said to have been present at the operation, and his name was without his authority or knowledge subjoined to a certificate of the cure."*

He also committed to the press some other occasional works, namely—

The Artifices and Impositions of False Teachers, discovered in a Visitation Sermon preached at Croydon, in Surrey, May the 8th, 1712. Published at the request of the clergy and gentry that heard it. Lond. 1712. 8vo.

The Church of England not Superstitious; shewing what Religions may justly be charged with Superstitions. Lond. 1714. 8vo.

Physica Aristotelica Modernæ accommodatior, in usum Juventutis Academicæ. Authore Gulielmo Taswell, S.T.P. Lond. 1718. 8vo. Dedicated to George Smalridge, D.D. Bishop of Bristol, and Dean of Christ Church; by whom, he states, some of the readings had been suggested, and others by Sir Edward Hannes, M.D. His son, Edward Taswell, was then at Christ Church.

The Popish Priest unmasked; or, the Quaker's Plea for non-payment of Tithes uncovered. Lond. 1723. 8vo.

Antichrist revealed among the sect of Quakers, in answer to a book called "The Rector corrected." Lond. 1723. 8vo.

A letter to Dr. Atterbury, then Dean of Carlisle, of which an incomplete copy is preserved on the cover of the MS. of the memoir, alludes to some other literary work, which Dr. Taswell had written in the year 1705, but by the advice of his friends was induced to suppress:—

* Lysons' Environs of London, 1792, i. 395. "Dr. Taswell calculated the houses in Newington at only 660 in the beginning of the century; they are now (1792) about 1800 in number" (ibid. p. 396); in 1850 increased to 11,000 houses and 71,000 inhabitants; now about 12,000 houses and 74,000 inhabitants.

To Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle, 22nd Sept. 1705.

Mr. Dean,—Last night I saw Dr. Smalridge, who concurred with your opinion in advising me to suppress my book; and at the same time gave me the melancholy news of your son's death. There is a natural fondness for our own children as well as compositions. However, with submission to my friends' judgment, I am content to bury mine. I don't question but you as willingly acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, which saw such infirmities in your child as would have given him frequent returns of pain and sorrow, and therefore in His infinite mercy took him hence. 'Twas my misfortune to lose a son of my own name; but I reasoned with myself that had God required me to part with an only son, which was Abraham's case, or had he deprived me of all at once, as in Job's, yet I ought patiently to submit to his will; how much more when he left me one of each sex. I considered that blessings of children did not consist so much in having many as in having good ones; that Abraham was as happy in one son as his grandson in twelve; that the loss of children is often designed as a trial of our patience; that those who bear it with patience and unanimity are commonly rewarded, as were Abraham and Job—

Dr. Taswell married, in 1695, Frances, daughter of Edward Lake, D.D. Archdeacon and Prebendary of Exeter, and Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill, in the city of London, in which church the marriage took place, and is thus recorded in the parish register:—

"Wm. Taswell, and Frances the daughter of Dr. E. Lake, were married in this church by Dr. Doughty, Prebendary of Windsor, upon Tuesday the 21st day of May, 1695."

Dr. Taswell died on the 16th of June, 1731, being then in his 80th year; and was buried at Newington, on the 22nd of the same month. A flat stone in that church, on the floor close to the Communion table, (now probably boarded over,) formerly presented the following inscriptions, with the arms of Taswell and Lake impaled.

FRANCISCA
Uxor delectissima GUL^mi TASWELL, S.T.P.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Rectoris,
Filia viri venerabilis Edw^di Lake, S.T.P.
In lucem edita 10 Cal. Julii, 1673,
Vitam nimis brevem immortalitati commutavit
Cal. Julii, 1720.

Et hic situs est, una cum tribus Liberis
MARIA, THOMA, et NATHANIELI,
EDWARDUS, Filius ejus natu maximus,
Anno ætatis 25 peregre profectus
Tribus ante matrem septimanis interiit.

GUL. TASWELL, S.T.P.
Natus Cal. Maii, 1652,
Diem extremum egit 1731, anno ætat.
80.

JACOBUS TASWELL ortus Patri Jacobo et
Anna Kingsmill, 11 Junii, 1710, æt. 25.

This last-named James was one of several children of Dr. Taswell's father by his second wife Anne Kingsmill, who has been misnamed Elizabeth in p. 15. William, another child of that marriage, baptized at Limington July 17, 1690, emigrated to America in 1715, and his descendants now reside at Norfolk in Virginia.

Dr. Taswell left two sons surviving, James, born at Newington in 1700, and William, born there in 1708-9. The latter was the Rev. William Taswell, Vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, who had issue four sons, of whom the second was the Rev. Henry Taswell, the translator of his grandfather's memoir. He had no family; but his three brothers left children.

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